IRISH MEDIEVAL MONASTERIES ON THE CONTINENT

BY

JOSEPH P. FUHRMANN, O.S.B.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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FOREWORD

In the following pages I have made an attempt to give a brief account of the Irish monasteries on the European continent during the Middle Ages.

Opinions of writers on this subject vary regarding the communities which should be included in a study of Irish monasteries. In a general way, however, Irish monasteries may be classed in three groups: the first group embraces those monasteries which were founded by continental disciples of St. Columbanus, or by followers of his *Regula Coenobialis;* the second includes monasteries founded by Irishmen on the continent; and the third, monasteries founded for Irishmen. I have tried to limit this study to the third group, namely, to monasteries founded on the continent for the use of Irish monks between 600 and 1500 A. D.

The indirect influence of the *Scotti* through their disciples and admirers on the monastic life of the continent can never be fully estimated. Nor is it possible to give a complete history of the *Gesta Dei per Hibernos* among the peoples of France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. For, when we come to investigate the activity of the Irish and the manner of their labors abroad, we are disappointed at finding that they have left us no written information whatever on the subject. The long centuries from then till now have thrown an almost impenetrable veil of oblivion over their efforts. Only an occasional *Vita* has come down to us which sheds light on their labors of love. Some of these *Vitae* furnish information of disputed value because in many cases they were written perhaps centuries after the death of their hero, and then more for the edification of the faithful than the satisfaction of the historian. The exceptions, such as the *Life of St. Columbanus* and the *Life of Marianus,* are so few that they only emphasize the general statement.

Whether the Irish monks did not care to leave a written record of their work, or whether their records were destroyed by a jealous hand or by irresponsible war, cannot now be determined. Perhaps they were convinced that their activities would be inscribed in letters of gold in the *Book of Life* and, consequently, they paid little heed to such perishable monuments as books to proclaim to curious men the time, place and manner of their work. This is indeed not surprising. The Irish became exiles in order to hide themselves as strangers in foreign lands, as hermits in unfrequented places, or to lose their individuality in a community. By choice, they adopted a life of oblivion. Why, then, should they hand on to posterity what they did not wish even their own generation to hear?

From our point of view this self-effacement is unfortunate and to our present-day ideas almost unexplainable. We regret sincerely that there was no Bede to write the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Hibernorum.*

The following pages add nothing very startling to what is already known on the subject of Irish monasteries. The Introduction treats of how Irish monasticism was brought to the continent, and puts special stress on the work of St. Columbanus. The first three chapters of Part I are devoted to Irish monasteries, properly so called, namely, Peronne, Honau and Murbach. By including Murbach (Chapter III) in my list and by emphasizing the work of St. Pirmin in organizing the first congregation of Benedictine monasteries, I have strayed from the beaten path. In Chapter IV I have tried to collect scattered bits of information regarding that quasi-monastic institution known as the *hospitale Scottorum.* The chapters of Part II are devoted to the Irish monasteries founded on the continent during the latter half of the Middle Ages. I should perhaps have omitted some facts as irrelevant; others which really belong to the subject may have escaped my notice.

I owe a debt of sincere gratitude to the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday for his advice and encouragement during my graduate work. It was only by virtue of his generous counsel, direction and assistance that I was enabled to complete this study.

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New Subiaco Abbey
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ABBREVIATIONS

AA. SS.—*Acta Sanctorum* by the Bollandists.
Migne, *PL.*—*Migne Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina.*
MGH.—*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*

INTRODUCTION.

IRISH MONASTICISM ON THE CONTINENT.

A short time before St. Augustine with his forty Benedictine monks entered upon the long northward journey across the Alps to France, and thence into England, firmly to plant the Christian faith among the Saxons and the Angles, a current of missionaries had begun to flow from Ireland into England, France, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland, and even across the Alps into Italy. Continental Europe at the time was still agitated by the inroads of barbarians; but Ireland, unvisited by the strange invaders, was free to bring to the distracted portions of Europe a spiritual energy which was a marvel to the world. A burst of popular enthusiasm had welcomed St. Patrick's preaching in Ireland, and with a zeal that seemed to take the world by storm Celtic Christianity flung itself into the battle with the heathenism and Arianism then invading the Catholic world. From the abundance of the heart, it is written, the mouth speaks. The heart of Ireland was filled with the love of Christ, and this love urged her children to foreign lands, there to revivify in Him the love and faith that had all but gone dead. Columba, the founder of Iona and the apostle of the Albanian Scots and Northern Picts; Aidan, the apostle of the Northumbrian Saxons; Columbanus, the apostle of the Burgundians; Gall, the apostle of Switzerland and Alemannia; Kilian, the apostle of Thuringia; Virgil, the apostle of Carinthia—these are but a few out of the many who were inspired to repay with interest the gifts of civilization and the Gospel. From the head waters of the Rhine to the shores of the Channel, from the coast of Brittany to the heart of Russia, the missionary "Scots" (or, as we now call them, "Irish") extended their labors, and in still another quarter, braving the dangers of the stormy and icy seas, carried the message of the Gospel to the Faroe Isles and to far distant Iceland.

A signal testimony of the extent of their labors is found in a letter of Bishop Eric of Auxerre to Charles the Bald. "Need I mention Ireland," writes Eric, "She, despising the dangers of the deep, emigrates to our shores . . . the most eminent among them become voluntarly exiles."[1] Such also is the testimony

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[1] Migne, *PL,* vol CXXIV, col. 1133.

of St. Bernard: "Nor was it only into the regions just mentioned (Scotland), but also into foreign lands that these swarms of saints poured as though a flood had risen."[2] This flood of which St. Bernard speaks carried on its bosom pilgrims to the tomb of St. Peter, hermits, founders of monasteries, apostles and converters of nations, sainted patrons of alien countries, and teachers in cloistral and cathedral schools.

Now the motive which prompted these *Scotti*, or Irish, to leave home and country was above all the love of God.[3] Then as now the Irish loved their Green Isle with a passionate love.[4] The supreme immolation was to cut off their last earthly tie by forsaking their own land "for the love of God," or "for the name of the Lord," "to obtain the celestial country."[5] What exile meant to the Irish we know from the outburst of Noisiu, son of Uisliu: "One's own country is better than all; for all good things in whatever measure he hath them are uncomely to a man unless he look upon his country."[6] Nevertheless, when like Abraham of old they heard the beckoning voice calling *Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua,* countless numbers bade farewell to all they cherished to spend their lives abroad in the service of God.[7] Though many indeed were

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[2] Lawlor, *St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy,* p. 29.

[3] There is no uniformity in spelling the word *Scotti.* Some writers spell it with one "t," others with two. In the present work the word is spelled with double "t," unless a quotation calls for only one.

Anyone interested in the nationality of the *Scotti,* whether they were from Ireland or from Scotland, will find the question fully discussed in the following works: Dempster, *Menologium Scotorum,* quoted at length in Ware-Harris, *Antiquities of Ireland,* p. 4; Messingham, *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum, Praefatio;* Lynch-Kelly, *Cambrensis Eversus,* Vol. II, p. 691 sq.; Skene, *Celtic Scotland,* Vol. I, pp. 1-5, Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,* Vol. III p. 220 sq.; Wattenbach-Reeves *Irish Monasteries in Germany* (*The Ulster Journal of Archaeology,* Vol. VII [1859], p. 227).

[4] Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity,* p. 6, note 1.

[5] *Vita Beati Mariani Scoti* in the *AA. SS. Feb.,* t. II, p. 372: *Dulce solum natalis patriae. cf.* Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* Vol. I, p. CXXIII, note 3.

[6] Green, *History of the Irish State to 1014,* p. 128.

[7] The Irish monks on the continent liked to call themselves *peregrini* and often compared themselves to Abraham. One might imagine they had all heard the voice bidding the Patriarch: "Go forth out of thy country and from thy kindred and out of thy father's house." *cf.* Gougaud, *op. cit.,* p. 7, note 1. This passage from the Old Testament became so expressive of their 'exile' that the *peregrini* incorporated it in the charter of the *Vivarius Peregrinorum* (Murbach). See Chapter III.

the pilgrims to the tomb of St. Peter and St. Paul, far more numerous were those who undertook the *peregrinatio* to serve in the army of Christ, either as missionaries among the barbarians, or as hermits in silent prayer in quiet places, or again as monks in one of the numerous monasteries founded by the Irish or for the Irish on the continent. These ancient Irish monks who travelled abroad liked indeed to call themselves *peregrini,* and their wanderings *peregrinatio.* We must, however, be careful not to translate *peregrini* by the word "pilgrim." The earlier *peregrini* were not, properly speaking, pilgrims. On this point Lanigan writes: "As far as I have been able to observe, the acceptation of *peregrinatio,* which occurs so often in lives of saints in those times, is not so much travelling as living for pious motives in a foreign land."[8] Dom Gougaud is of the same opinion. "In a far fuller sense," he says, "they [the *peregrini*] were voluntary exiles, men who by a religious vow, more or less explicit, sometimes taken in childhood, with or without the additional undertaking of apostolate, forbade themselves for a prolonged period, or even for life as was generally the case, to return to their native land."[9] It seems, therefore, that the *peregrinatio* of the Irish was practically equivalent to the religious vow taken in our own days by certain religious congregations to spend part or all of their lives in foreign missions. The oft-quoted saying of Abbot Walafried Strabo that the habit of travelling had become second nature to the Irish may explain the presence of these early Irish in all parts of the world, on land and on sea, as adventurers and as soldiers, as pilgrims and as teachers.[10] But it does not explain why many among them made the Benedictine vow of stability at Honau, Murbach, Ratisbon, and in the other Irish communities on the continent; for the vow of stability bound the monk to his first monastery and thus prevented all future shiftless wandering.[11]

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[8] Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History,* Vol. III, p. 402, note 15.

[9] Gougaud, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[10] *Vita S. Galli, auctore Walafrido, MGH, SS, Rer. Merov. t. IV, p. 336: de natione Scottorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam paene in naturam conversa est.*

[11] On the vow of stability, see Butler, *Benedictine Monachism,* p. 123; Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal,* p. 147; Delatte, *Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict,* p. 388.

It is well to emphasize the fact that a distinct religious element entered into nearly every phase of the activity of the Irish *peregrini.* Concannon has well said that "ever since the Irish learned the Gospel story, they had cherished an ardent personal love for Christ which urged them to seek conformity with Him in all things possible."[12] Every incident in His life, every number with which He was connected, had for them a sacred and mystic significance. They liked to think of their Ciaran, son of a carpenter, dying like the other Son of a carpenter, at the age of thirty three.[13] They raised their priests to the ministry at the age of thirty, the age when Christ entered upon His public work. They sent out missionaries in bands of thirteen, in memory of Christ and His twelve apostles. As soon indeed as it became known that an eminent monk had resolved to undertake one of these peregrinations, twelve men of like mind and desire immediately placed themselves under his command to accompany him. Thus St. Columba was accompanied in his apostolic mission to Scotland by twelve monks.[14] Thus, too, St. Columbanus came into Gaul supported by twelve associates, to arouse her from the torpor and to enlighten her sons with the beams of the most exalted piety.[15] Twelve companions, indeed, seems to have been the general custom. St. Kilian was the chief of a company of twelve men who went forth from Ireland to Franconia and founded a church at Würzburg;[16] St. Eloquius, disciple of St. Fursey, with twelve companions spread the Gospel in Belgium;[17] St. Rupert chose twelve companions to assist him in his preaching;[18] the pilgrimage of St. Forannan was shared by twelve faithful followers, and the same number were fellow-exiles with St. Macalanus.[19] The rule was not invariable, however, nor so rigidly adhered to as to menace the success of a missionary undertaking. Groups far more numerous are also mentioned. St. Erard, for example, is said to have been accompanied by nineteen dis-

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[12] Concannon, *The Life of St. Columbanus,* p. 106.

[13] Macalister, *The Latin and Irish Lives of St. Ciaran,* p. 4.

[14] Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba,* p. 245, Note A.

[15] Jonas, *Vita Columbani, cap.* 3.

[16] *Vita S. Kiliani, in the AA. SS. Julii,* t. II, p. 613.

[17] Colgan, *Acta SS. Hiberniae,* p. 436.

[18] *Ad Vitam S. Forannani,* in the *AA. SS. Aprilis, t.* III, p. 817.

[19] Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,* Vol. III, p. 396.

ciples;[20] and sixty associates went with St. Brendan on his voyage in search of the Land of Promise.[21]

We know very little about these missionary expeditions and therefore they seem planless to us. However, if we may put faith in a very old piece of legislation, perhaps from the time of St. Patrick, the *peregrinatio* was at least theoretically regulated by certain principles. Consequently it was not the result of merely personal caprice. These principles, laid down perhaps by St. Patrick himself, were:

> I. The *peregrinus* must first have preached in his own country, after the example of Christ.
>
> II. If his preaching at home produced no results, he was allowed to depart to foreign lands, after the example of the apostles.
>
> III. If successful as a missionary, he was urged to appear everywhere and teach, even if by so doing he exposed himself to danger.
>
> IV. I unsuccessful as a missionary, he was to remain quiet and hide himself. For some were called by Jesus to follow Him, others were sent home.[22]

Besides the missionary zeal there was an intellectual development in Ireland which the rest of Europe at the time did not know. Celtic monks explained Ovid; they copied Virgil; they devoted themselves to Greek literature; they drew back from no inquiry, from no discussion; they gloried in placing boldness on a level with faith. The young Luan answered the abbot of Bangor, who warned him against the dangers of too engrossing a study of the liberal arts: "If I have knowledge of God, I shall not offend God; for they who disobey Him are they who do not know Him." Upon which the abbot left him, saying: "My son, thou art firm in the faith, and true knowledge will put thee in the right road for heaven."[23]

Although Irish missionaries crossed the English Channel before him, it was St. Columbanus who in the year 585 started the great movement for the continent. He is the *initiateur* and leading spirit in "the most remarkable missionary effort known

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[20] Lanigan, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[21] *Litany of Aengus,* Vard., p. 206, quoted by Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 303; *cf.* Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés Celtiques,* pp. 136-138.

[22] Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae,* p. 5. (*Synodus alia S. Patricii, quae non synodus videtur quam responsio ad quaesita aliqua.*)

[23] Montalembert, *Monks of the West,* Vol. I, p. 548.

in Europe for the variety and vivacity of its enterprise and the long centuries of its endurance."[24] Most tenacious of Irish customs, fearless as St. Paul himself in expressing his convictions, Columbanus more than any one else transplanted the essentially monastic church discipline of Ireland to France, Germany and Switzerland.[25]

It is generally admitted that the Irish monasticism of the sixth and seventh century which St. Columbanus brought to the continent was different from the monasticism found in Gaul, and that an Irish monastery of that date was not in the least like those monasteries of the Middle Ages whose ruins we may still see on the continent and in Ireland as well. Celtic monachism formed the transition from hermit life to that of the religious orders of the Middle Ages. As a result of this semi-cenobitic life we find the great figures of the seventh century, like Columbanus and Fursey, undecided as to life in an organized community or life in the *desertum,* that is, in an unfrequented and uninhabited locality. We see them lay the foundations of a monastery only to place the community in charge of some other superior and then seek seclusion once more.

A second result of this semi-cenobitic monasticism was the absence of a universal rule observed in all Irish monasteries, such as the Benedictine Rule on the continent. Though the fundamentals of monastic life,—poverty, chastity, obedience,—were insisted on everywhere, each of the great monastic centers with its dependent houses seems to have had a rule of its own. Very frequently there appears to have been no written rule at all, in which case the founder's life was held up to the monks as embodying their code of law and model for general imitation. Where there was a written rule it was the creature of the abbot, hence severe or lenient, according to his religious temperament and subject to changes without notice. The abbot's power was absolute; in matters of discipline his authority was unlimited. How severely Irish abbots legislated for their monks appears from the *Penitentials of St. Columbanus.* In these he prescribes, for instance, that "if any brother be disobedient, he shall fast two days with one biscuit and water. If any say: 'I will not

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[24] Green, *History of the Irish State to 1014,* p. 182.

[25] Greith, *Altirische Kirche* p. 295: *Traditionum scotticarum tenacissimus consectator,* quoted from an ancient St. Gall MS.

do it,' three days with one biscuit and water. If any murmur, two days with one biscuit and water. If any one do not ask leave, or tell an excuse, two days with one biscuit and water."[26]

The abbot was the superior not only of his own house but also of the communities founded from his monastery. The latter were governed by local superiors under the jurisdiction of the mother house. Sometimes the abbot was bishop, but usually only priest. It was the general rule, however, for each monastery to have one or more monks of the community consecrated bishops. These were the so-called monastic bishops.[27] They performed episcopal functions within the monastery and in the daughter houses subject to the abbot; as bishops they were treated with honor and deference but they were under the jurisdiction of the abbot. Their ordaining and consecrating powers were not to interfere with the jealous authority of the abbot. Herein Irish ecclesiastical discipline differed greatly from that on the continent. Whereas St. Benedict prescribed the subjection of his monasteries to the diocesan bishops, Irish monasteries claimed and for centuries succeeded in maintaining total independence from diocesan jurisdiction. It can therefore truthfully be said that Celtic church discipline of the sixth century was to a very great extent one of monastic territorial jurisdiction and not one of diocesan episcopal jurisdiction.

The Irish peculiarities of tonsure and date of celebrating Easter are well known. According to Irish monastic custom the head was shaved, not in a circle at the crown, as was the custom on the continent, but in front, from ear to ear. The proper date of Easter according to the Roman method of computation, was the Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox. According to ancient Irish practice, however, Easter was kept on the day itself of the full moon if that day happened to be a Sunday.

St. Columbanus planted this Irish monasticism on the continent. The *Regula Coenobialis,* written for his monks at Lux-

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[26] Quoted from Ussher, *A Discourse of the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and British Works,* Vol. IV, p. 298.

[27] Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O.S.B.,* t. III, *Praefatio,* pp. XIII sq.; Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba,* p. 339 sq.. Workman, *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal,* p. 194; Pflugk-Harttung, *The Old Irish on the Continent,* in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* N. S., Vol. V, p. 84.

euil, embodied the monastic ideals of his native country.[28] The abbot was still above the rule and discipline was unbelievably strict.[29] Luxeuil and the other monasteries founded by St. Columbanus, or by his disciples, considered themselves exempt from diocesan authority,—a state of affairs practically unknown on the continent before the arrival of the Celtic monks; they had their own monastic bishops subject to the abbot; they wore their tonsure in Irish fashion and at least for a while insisted on celebrating Easter the same as in Ireland. These peculiarities gave the communities founded on the continent by Irish monks such an individual character that they were often called Irish monasteries,—*monasteria Scottorum.*[30]

The Merovingian kingdom offered a fertile field to the Celtic monks. Men of learning, imbued with a singular missionary zeal, and above all scrupulously ascetic, they awed the heathens and half-Christians by their spirit of self-sacrifice and by the

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[28] Migne, *PL,* Vol. LXXX. The best critical edition of the *Regula Coenobialis* is by O. Seebass in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* Vol. XVII, pp. 218-234; Vol. XV, pp. 366-386; Vol. XVIII, pp. 58-76; *cf.* Seebass; *Über Columban von Luxeuil Klosterregel,* Dresden, 1883.

[29] Workman, *op. cit.,* p. 207: "Columban's Rule simply bristles with punishments." *Cf.* Gasquet, *A Sketch of Monastic History,* first printed as an Introduction to Montalembert's *Monks of the West,* 1895; reprinted in Gasquet's *Monastic Life in the Middle Ages,* p. 210 sq.

[30] "Some idea," says Mr. F. F. Warren in his *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church,* p. 16, "of the monastic character and extent of the Celtic church, may be gained from a bare enumeration of a few of its most famous houses." Then, after giving a list of those in the British Isles, he adds:

IN FRANCE.

Remirmont
Lure
Besançon
Romain-Moutier
Béziers
Bresille
St. Ursanne
Jouarre
Reuil

Rebais
Faremoutier
St. Maur-les-Fosses
Lagny
Moutier-le-Celle
Hautvilliers
Moutier-en-Der
St. Salaberga
Fontenelles
Jumièges

St. Saens
Luxeuil
Annegray
Fontaines
Peronne
Toul
Amboise
Beaulieu
Strassburg

Mr. Warren then continues: "In addition to these [i. e., in France] there were countless and nameless *hospitalia Scottorum* alluded to in the *Capitularia* of Charles the Bald, A. D. 846." He then adds a list of monasteries in:

THE NETHERLANDS.

Namur
Liége

Gueldres
Hautmont

Soignies

sternness of their mode of life. Columbanus soon saw an army of disciples gather under his banner. His monastery at Luxeuil, which began with thatched huts and in poverty and hunger, became the most fruitful seminary of religious life in the early Middle Ages.[31] It was to the seventh and eighth centuries what Cluny was to the tenth and eleventh. From Luxeuil numerous communities sprang up in rapid succession. They were more numerous and more illustrious than those founded by St. Benedict and his successors. Inspired by the vigorous life which flowed from Columbanus, his disciples gave the monastic spirit the most powerful, rapid, and active impulse which it had yet received. By their labors, the spirit and genius of Columbanus hover over the whole of the seventh century.[32]

More than this. His spirit and genius were so characteristically Irish that even today we speak of *monasteria Scottorum,* Irish monasteries, which have no other title to this designation than the fact that they adopted and for a while followed the

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[31] Malnory, *Quid Luxovienses Monachi . . . ad communem ecclesiae profectum contulerint.* Paris, 1894.

[32] Montalembert, *op. cit.,* p. 597 sq.

IN GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND.

Honau
Erfurt
Freiburg
Ettenheimmünster
Schottern
Nüremberg
Würzburg
Memmingen
Mainz
Cologne
Regensburg
Constance
St. Gall
Mont-St.-Victor
Reichenau
Bregenz
Rheinau
Seckingen

IN ITALY.

Bobbio
Fiesole
Taranto
Lucca

Mr. Warren says: "This list might be largely extended. It does not include many monasteries which, Celtic in their origin, passed subsequently into foreign hands, as was the case with Great St. Martin (Gross-St.-Martin) at Cologne. St. Bernard compared the missionary inundation of foreign countries by the Irish to a flood." His list of Irish monasteries is repeated by Miss Stokes in her *Six Months in the Appennines,* p. 2—3; also by Mr. Hugh Graham, *The Early Irish Monastic Schools,* p. 46-47.

Warren's list, like many others, is apt to leave the impression on the reader's mind that these monasteries were built by Irish monks, and for Irish monks; and that they were always, or at least for a long time, occupied by Irish monks. This impression is wrong and has led to much loose talk and to many unsubstantiated statements regarding the work of the Irish monks on the continent, all of which is unnecessary. Their fame rests too solidly on actual accomplishments to need exaggerated adornments.

Regula Coenobialis of St. Columbanus, which was the embodiment of Irish monachism. To this class belong some of the best known abbeys of the Middle Ages, such as Rebais, Faremoutier, Jouarre, Jumièges, Beze, Reuil, St. Salaberga, Fontanelle.[33] All these communities were not composed of Irish

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[33] Miss Margaret Stokes, in her very interesting book *Three Months in the Forests of France,* p. 74, makes the following statement regarding the number of monasteries founded by disciples of St. Columbanus: "One hundred and five monasteries in all were founded by the disciples of St. Columbanus, whether in France, Germany, Switzerland, or Italy." Miss Stokes then gives a list of men who went forth as missionaries from Luxeuil, and enumerates the monasteries which adopted the Columban Rule. This list contains the names of sixty-three monasteries. She does not tell us where the remaining forty-two out of the one hundred and five monasteries founded by the disciples of St. Columbanus may be found. Perhaps she had in mind the more complete list of the great Franciscan scholar, John Colgan, *De monasteriis Hibernorum in exteras gentes,* in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Vol. VI (1853-1857), p. 106 sq. The following is her list of men who spread the Columban Rule from Luxeuil during the seventh century together with their monasteries:

(Name)	(Monastery)
Acharius	Noyon
Adelphus	Remiremont
Agilus	Rebais
Amatus	Sedunum
Antoninus	Froideval
Attala	Bobbio
Audomarus	Boulogne
Bercharius	Altevillar
Bertin	St. Omer
Bertulfus	Bobbio
Burgundofara	Faremoutier
Chagnoaldus	Laon
Desle	Lure
Ebertram	St. Quentin
Ermenfredus	Cusance
Faro	Meaux
Germanus	Grandval
Goar	St. Goar
Hildebertus	Tertona
Leodegarius	Auxerre
Lua	Auxerre
Mellinus	Rouen
Nivardus	Rheims
Ragnacarius	Autun
Regulus	Flay
Rodingus	Beaulieu
Samson	Dol
Tetelmus	Charenton
Theofridus	Corbie
Valery	St. Valery
Waldelinus	Tholey
Ado	Jouarre
Ailbertus	Paris
Amalarius	Trèves
Ansegisus	Fontenelle
Arnoaldus	Metz
Aubertus	Cambrai
Babolenus	St.-Maur-le-Fosses
Berthoarius	Brouges
Bertrannus	St. Quentin
Colombin	———
Dado	Rouen
Chillenus	Arras
Donatus	Besançon
Emmo	Sens
Eustatius	Beaume
Gallus	St. Gall
Gibertus	Crespy
Hermenfridus	Verdun
Leobardus	St. Maur
Leodebod	Fleury
Lupicinus	Romainmoutier
Mummolinus	St. Omer
Philibertus	Jumièges
Richarius	St. Riquier
Romaric	Remiremont
Sigebert	Dissentis
Theodulf	Chezy l'Abbaie
Ursicinus	St. Ursanne
Waldebertus	Meaux
Waldolenus	Beze

monks; their founders were natives, the monks were natives, and they received their property and possessions from natives. It is not surprising, however, that these foundations showed a special fondness for Irish monks and harbored Irish pilgrims with particular hospitality. Nor is it improbable that many an exile for the love of God spent the days of his *peregrinatio* in one of them. But we have no evidence to prove that Irish monks ever formed a predominant or even a very notable part of the membership of monasteries founded by continental disciples of Columbanus or by alumni of Luxeuil.[34] Therefore, we shall give no further notice to this class of monasteries.

A second group in the usual list of *monasteria Scottorum* is that class of monasteries which were either founded by Irishmen, or else restored by them. To this group belong such famous abbeys as Luxeuil, Bobbio, St. Gall, Lure, St. Ursanne. As might be expected, they show their Irish origin in a marked degree; and with these communities even more than with those in the first class, it is possible and probable that some members were Irish. This must have been the case especially during the first generation when a fair percentage of monks probably was Irish, though we have very little evidence to prove it.[35] When St. Columbanus was driven from Luxeuil, his Irish companions were expelled with him. Thus, the greatest monastery founded by an Irishman on the continent fell into the hands of the Burgundians.[36] At Bobbio, the last of the Columban foundations, the immediate successor of the saint was Attalus, a Burgundian.[37] The monastery of St. Gall, named after the favorite disciple of St. Columbanus, did not take its place among the prominent abbeys of Europe until a century after the death of its Irish founder.[38]

Here again, if these communities were sometimes called *monasteria Scottorum*, it was not because their members or even an appreciable number of the members were Irish, but because they had for their founder a spiritual son of St. Patrick who followed the monastic customs of Ireland, and perhaps for

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[34] *Gallia Christiana,* vol. 13, p. 1262.

[35] Krusch, *Jonas: Vita Columbani,* p. 116.

[36] Krusch, *op. cit.,* p. 35.

[37] Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland;* Vol. II, p. 438.

[38] Haddan, *Scots on the Continent,* a valuable essay published in *Remains,* p. 276 sq.

several generations observed the rule of St. Columbanus. The Irish character of these foundations was, therefore, of a very transitory kind—singularly so, indeed, if compared with the enthusiasm of the originators of the movement. Not only did natives speedily fill these monasteries, but Irish customs, which rested on no doctrinal grounds, and the Irish rule, which was impossibly austere, dropped out of sight almost within the century. For as is well known, the *Regula Coenobialis* of St. Columbanus did not long remain unchallenged. As long as the strong-willed saint and those who had received their training under him lived, his rule was powerful and self-sufficient. But, when he failed to provide for the external government of his communities, he left a large opening in his monastic structure through which the legislation of Monte Cassino found an entrance. In many monasteries the Rule of St. Columbanus and that of St. Benedict were combined, but gradually the former gave way to the latter.[39] For, wherever the Rule of Benedict of Nursia was given an equal opportunity with another, like the rod of Aaron, it triumphed over its rival. Montalembert expresses this gradual absorption of the Columban rule by that of St. Benedict in the following inimitable passage: "One of those great rivers, which like the Moselle or the Saône, have their source near Luxeuil itself, offers a meet symbol of the fate which awaited the work of St. Columbanus. We see it first spring up, obscure and unknown, from the foot of the hills; we see it then increase, extend, grow into a broad and fertilizing current, watering and flowing through the vast and numerous provinces. We expect it to continue indefinitely its independent and beneficial course. But, vain delusion! Lo, another stream [pours] onward from the other extremity of the horizon to attract and to absorb its rival, to draw it along, to swallow up even its name; and [replenishes] its own strength and life by these captive waters, to pursue alone and victorious its majestic course to the ocean. Thus did the current of Columbanus' triumphant institution sink into the forgotten tributary of the great Benedic-

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[39] Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O.S.B.*, t. 1, p. XXXI: *Omnia fere monasteria saeculo VIII aedificata, qualia sunt Corbeiense, Floreacense, Gemeticense, Fontanellense, et Puellare B. Mariae apud Suessiones, ad SS. Benedicti et Columbani regulam ordinata sunt, ut ex primariis eorum instrumentis manifestum est.*

tine stream, which henceforth flowed forth alone to cover Gaul and all the west with its regenerating tide."[40]

There still remains a third group of *monasteria Scottorum,* which will demand our attention for the greater part of this study. This third group is made up of those monasteries which were founded on the continent for Irish monks who followed the rule of St. Benedict. Abbeys belonging to this group were more numerous and of greater importance than is generally recognized. We may state in advance, however, that it is by no means an easy matter to determine definitely whether a monastery was reserved exclusively for Irish monks, or whether it was called *monasterium Scottorum* merely because it followed Irish monastic customs and traditions.

According to Levison and Dom Gougaud there were very few communities for the exclusive use of Irish monks before the tenth century. They mention Peronne in Picardy and Honau on the Rhine, near Strassburg, as perhaps the only monasteries for Irish monks. To these we could add the abbey at Murbach in Alsace. Moreover, it seems almost certain that the foundation of St. Fursey at Lagny, near Paris, and the monastery founded at Fosses in Belgium by St. Gertrude for St. Foillan and St. Ultan, were at first intended for Irish monks. It seems almost equally certain, however, that the Irish were unable to maintain their independence in these two places for any length of time. We have also inserted a chapter on the enigmatic *Hospitalia Scottorum,* for it appears that these hospices for Irish pilgrims and travellers were in charge of small communities of Irish monks.

There is a definite break in the history of Irish monasteries on the continent between the time of Charlemagne and Otto the Great. To emphasize this break we have divided our subject into two parts. In the first part we treat of the Irish monasteries (*Monasteria Scottorum*) from about the year 650 to 900; and in the second, of the Irish monasteries (*Schottenklöster*) from about the year 940 to 1500. From the tenth century onward we tread on firmer historical ground both as to the Irish character of the monasteries under consideration and as to the number and location of these institutions.

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[40] Montalembert, *Monks of the West,* Vol. I, p. 641.

In our list of Irish monasteries we would therefore include:

PART I: *Monasteria Scottorum.*

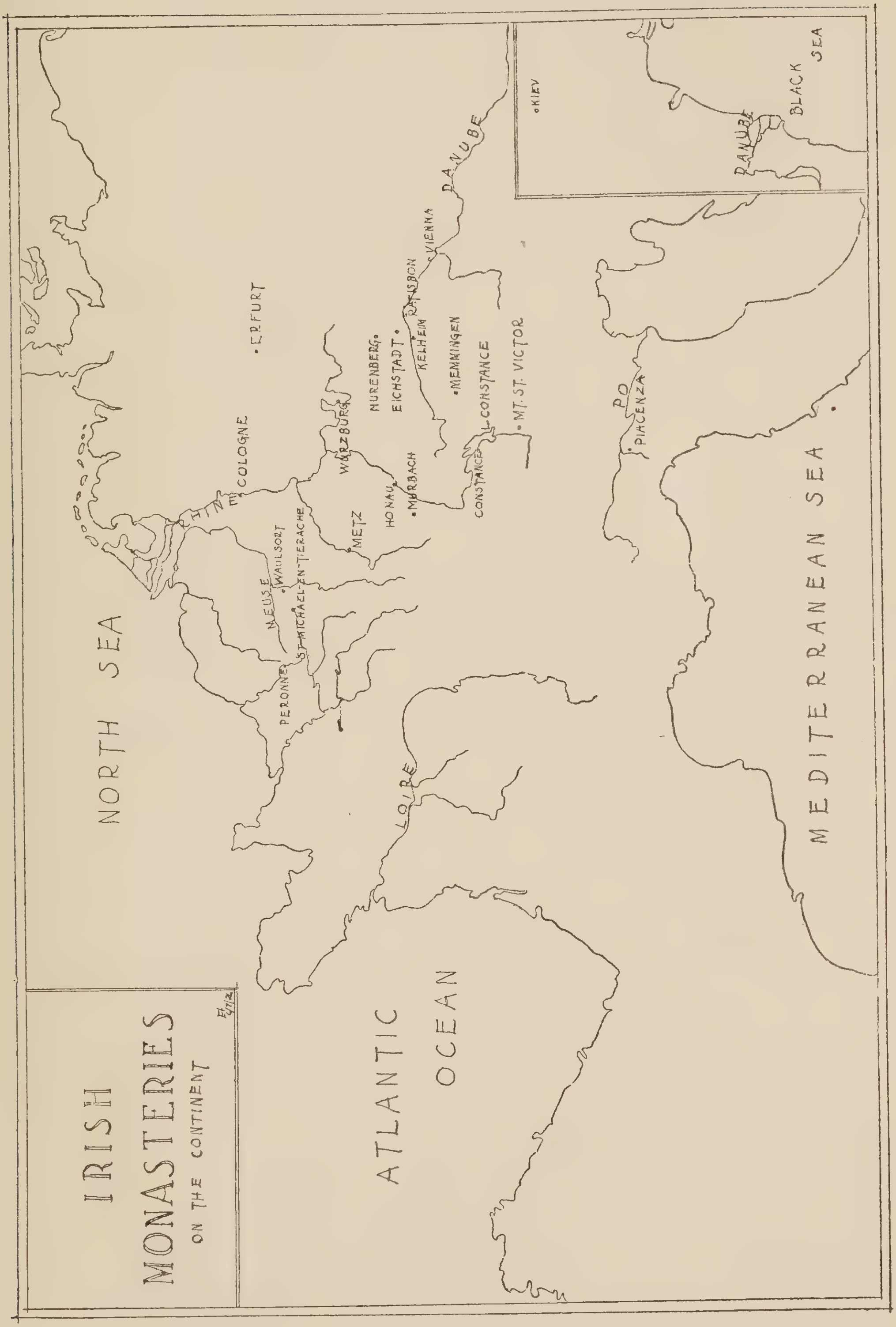
(A. D. 650—A. D. 900).

St. Peter's at Peronne in Picardy.
St. Michael's on the island of Honau in the Rhine.
St. Peter's and St. Leodegar's at Murbach in Alsace.
Hospitalia Scottorum.

PART II: *Die Schottenklöster.*

(A. D. 940—A. D. 1500).

St. Michael in the Forest of Tiérache.
St. Mary at Waulsort.
St. Clement and St. Symphorian at Metz.
Gross-St.-Martin and St. Pantaleon at Cologne.
Weih-St.-Peter at Ratisbon.
St. James at Ratisbon.
St. James at Würzburg.
St. James at Erfurt.
St. Aegidius at Nuremberg.
St. James at Constance.
Our Blessed Lady at Vienna.
St. Nicholas at Memmingen.
Holy Cross at Eichstätt.
Our Blessed Lady at Kief.
St. John the Baptist at Kelheim.


IRISH MONASTERIES
ON THE CONTINENT
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
KIEV
DANUBE
RHINE
COLOGNE
ERFURT
MEUSE
WAULSORT
ST. MICHAEL-EN-TIERACHE
PERONNE
METZ
WURZBURG
NURENBERG
EICHSTADT
HONAU
MURBACH
KELHEIM
RATISBON
VIENNA
DANUBE
MEMMINGEN
L. CONSTANCE
CONSTANCE
MT. ST. VICTOR
PO
PIACENZA
LOIRE

PART I.

MONASTERIA SCOTTORUM.

(650—900).

PART I.

CHAPTER I

ST. PETER'S MONASTERY AT PERONNE

SCARCELY had one decade passed after the expulsion (A. D. 610) of St. Columbanus from Burgundy by Queen Brunehaut, when the nobles and prelates of northwestern France and of Belgium initiated an almost organized effort to draw Irish missionaries to their regions. The remarkable success of Luxeuil and of the great abbeys following Irish monastic discipline founded from that religious center made rulers and subjects alike look with favor on any stranger who, with pilgrim's staff and wallet containing manuscripts and relics and with head shaven from ear to ear, landed on the Boulogne or Ponthieu coast. Caidoc and Fricor, apostles of the Morini and amongst the first to follow Columbanus into France, were received with great kindness by the nobleman Richarius.[1] St. Faro, bishop of Meaux, welcomed Fiacrius and Kilian.[2] St. Ita, who was the wife of Pepin I, mayor of Austrasia, and the mother of St. Gertrude, sent messengers to Ireland for teachers and monks to instruct the members of her community at Nivelles in sacred psalmody and religious matters.[3] When St. Fursey landed on the banks of the Somme and proceeded inland, Duke Haymon and Erchenwald, the latter mayor under King Clovis II, vied with each other in bestowing generous grants of land and money on the Irish monk to induce him to settle on their respective estates.[4]

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[1] Lanigan, *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,* Vol. II, p. 442; Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France,* p. 75; Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers,* p. 19. p. 75.

[2] *Vita S. Fiacrii,* in the *AA. SS. Augusti, t.* VI, p. 605.

[3] *Madelgarius, qui et Vincentius, . . . potens in Hibernia, multos ad peregrinandum pro Christo animavit et auxilia fovit. Cf. Vita III S. Foillani,* in the *AA. SS. Oct.,* t. XIII, p. 395. especially the *Commentarius Praevius,* pp. 380-381, in which Remigius DeBuck treats of the Irish missionaries in Belgium and of their relations with the family of the Pepins. *Cf.* Colgan, *Acta S. Hib.,* p. 96.

[4] *Vita S. Fursei,* in the *AA. SS. Januarii,* t. II, p. 406.

But the Irish *peregrini* seem to have learned a lesson. Anxious as ever though they were to teach the gospel of Christ, they willingly came in great numbers, but they did not want their work to be interrupted, nor subject to the caprices of Frankish kings and nobles. Hence they were more cautious in selecting places for settlement. Like Fursey, they wanted the best, and they insisted that no one forbid their countrymen the right of enjoying the fruits of their labor in the places where they had settled when they would have passed away. Hence, in the new era of peregrination fresh foundations of hospices arose where Irish pilgrims were assured welcome and shelter; monasteries were set aside where Irish monks did not need to live in constant fear of expulsion. They were theirs as long as Ireland could supply the members. Some survived one generation only, like Lagny and Fosses, when they either fell into decay or passed into hands of natives. Others, however, remained in the possession of Irish monks for centuries.[5]

It was the generosity of Erchenwald that gave rise to probably the first monastery for the exclusive use of the Irish on the continent. That was at Peronne in Picardy, and the walls of the new monastic foundation enclosed the relics of one of Ireland's greatest saints and visionaries, St. Fursey.[6]

St. Fursey was one of that band of distinguished Irish Saints who filled England and France with the fame of their virtue during the first half of the seventh century. He was the son of Fintan and Gelges, who belonged to the ruling class of Ireland. When scarcely in his teens he left home in order to acquire a greater perfection, and went to a monastery ruled by St. Meldan on the small island of Inisquin.[7] After several years of monastic

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[5] *Gallia Christiana*, t. III, p. 932. t. VII, p. 490.

[6] For the life of St. Fursey there is abundant material, showing the hold he has upon the Christian imagination. The primary authority is Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, t. III, cap. 19, who professedly quotes from a *libellus vitae ejus*, probably written at Peronne about the year 670 or 675, or at least soon after the death of the Saint. This is supposed to be the tract given with additions of the miracles by the Bollandists, in the *AA. SS. Jan.*, t. II, p. 35 sq. The Benedictines in the *Hist. Lit. de la France*, t. III, pp. 613-615, have given a very useful resumé of his life and the foreign authorities. *Cf.* O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. I, p. 224; Friart, *Hist. de S. Fursey, de S. Feuillen et de S. Ultain*, Lille, 1913; Kirwan, *Some Celtic Missionary Saints: St. Fursey*, in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. II (1912), pp. 170-187.

[7] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 449.

training under Abbot Meldan, St. Fursey erected his own monastery at a place called Rathmot, near Lough Orbsen.[8] When it was properly established and a considerable number of religious persons had gathered around him, Fursey wished to have some of his relatives instructed there. Consequently, he set out for his home, Munster, with the intention of inducing them to come to his monastery.[9]

On his homeward journey he saw the first of a series of visions regarding life after death, which made him famous in medieval literature.[10] These visions are the workings of a mind of peculiar spiritual sensitiveness, dwelling upon the current form of theological thought and moulding it into the clear outline of a divine inspiration. They present a wonderful picture of early Christian teaching.[11]

After his journey to his home city Fursey does not seem to have returned to his monastery at Rathmot; for it is said that for ten years he preached the word of God throughout all Ireland, announcing everywhere what he had seen and heard in his visions, and exhorting people to penance.[12] The throngs of admirers everywhere became so insistent on his time and

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[8] *Vita S. Fursei,* in the *AA. SS., Jan.,* t. II, p. 401.

[9] . . . *Sufficienter instructus* (*Furseus*), *monasterium in quodam construxit loco, ubi, indique religionis confluentibus viris, aliquos etiam de parentibus suis pia sollicitudine evocare curavit. Vita S. Fursei,* p. 401.

[10] In the first vision were revealed to St. Fursey the state of man in sin, the remedies for sin, and the beauty of virtue. In the vision he heard the angelic choirs singing "the saints shall go from virtue to virtue, the God of gods shall appear in Sion." The two angels who restored him to the body finally laid a command on him to become more zealous in the harvest of the Lord. The vision was renewed three nights later. St. Fursey was rapt aloft by three angels who contended six times with demons for his soul. While in the ecstatic state he saw the fires of hell, the strife of demons, and then heard the angelic hosts sing in four choirs: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts." Among the spirits of the just he met St. Beoan and his old master, St. Meldan, who instructed him in the duties of ecclesiastics and monks, and pointed out the dreadful effects of pride and disobedience, and the heinousness of spiritual and internal sins. As he returned to this earth through the fires of hell a demon hurled a tortured sinner at him, burning him and the angel of the Lord said to him: "Because thou didst receive the mantle of this man when dying in his sin the fire consuming him hath scarred thy body also." The body of Fursey bore the mark ever after. *Vita S. Fursei, cap. I-VI,* pp. 401-405; *cf.* Stokes, *Three Months,* p. 87 sq. O'Hanlon, *Lives of Irish Saints,* Vol. I, p. 243 sqq.

[11] *Vita S. Fursei,* p. 405.

[12] *Ibid.*

energy that he decided to withdraw from Ireland. Venerable Bede's phraseology, when speaking of St. Fursey's departure from Ireland, seems to imply that he considered the leaving of one's country the supreme sacrifice, equivalent to a religious vow. Bede's words are: "After having announced the word of God to all, during many years in Ireland, he (Fursey) could no longer bear the crowds that thronged around him; and abandoning all that he seemed to possess, he at last abandoned his own country."[13]

St. Fursey was accompanied to England by a number of like-minded men, among them his two brothers, Foillan and Ultan. They arrived in the province of the East Angles about the year 637, where King Sigebert received them kindly.[14] The apostolic undertakings of Fursey soon after his arrival in England indicate that the *peregrini* did not leave Ireland to escape labor, but to find a field where their energy would reap greater fruits for their Master. They preached, and many conversions followed. King Sigebert was so well pleased with the new arrivals that he granted them a tract of land on which to erect a monastery.[15] King and nobles were generous in their gifts, and soon the monastery of Burghcastle (Cnoberesburg) arose on the ruins of an ancient castle. Again monks flocked to the saint in great numbers, and he found it impossible to lead the life of quiet communion with his Maker which his heart craved.[16] He therefore intrusted the administration of his foundation to the care of his brother Foillan and two priests, Gobban and Tibulla (Diculf), while he withdrew to a solitary place, where together with his younger brother, Ultan, he spent a year in prayer and study.[17]

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[13] *Vita S. Fursei,* p. 419.

[14] *Vita S. Fursei,* p. 405.

[15] *Vita S. Fursei,* Cap. VII, No. 36, p. 405.

[16] *Vita S. Fursei,* p. 405.

[17] According to one account, Madelgar, supposedly an Irish soldier, received the title of count for bravery displayed in the Frankish army. Later on he was sent to Ireland by St. Ita, wife of Pepin, in order to enlist Irish monks for teaching in her community at Nivelles. Whilst in Ireland, Madelgar heard about the great miracle-worker and visionary, and on his return through England visited Fursey's community at Burghcastle. Being greatly pleased with the saint's erudition and sanctity, Madelgar succeeded in persuading the man of God to accompany him to Gaul. The story continues that Fursey chose as companions his two brothers, Foillan and Ultan with Mimbolinus, Eloquius, Adelgisus,

Their hermitical life, however, was abruptly ended when war broke out in the province; and St. Fursey decided to seek safety in France. Accordingly he put in order the affairs of his English community, perhaps ordaining that the remainder of his Irish companions should follow him across the channel if conditions in England became worse.[18] With the relics of St. Beoan and St. Meldan, the dearest possessions which he had brought from Ireland, he set sail for France, entered the mouth of the Somme, landed at Mayoc, and pressed inland up the river to the monastery of St. Richarius (St. Riquier), where he found several of his countrymen—Caidoc, Fricor, Vulgantius, Rautic, and Quillan.[19] After a short visit there, he and his companions pursued their course along the Roman highway through Picardy until they reached Mazerolles, the home of Duke Haymon.[20] Arrived there they heard a great wailing in the house of the duke and upon inquiry they were told that the duke's son had just died. St. Fursey asked to watch the body through the night and ordered that it be placed beside him in a quiet cell. He prayed over the boy during the night and when morning came the child was restored to life. Duke Haymon was so transported with joy at this event that he begged St. Fursey to remain with him, offering him great possessions together with the very place where he then lived as a perpetual inheritance.[21] But the *peregrinus* explained to the nobleman the motives which had induced him to leave his own country, and he and his companions continued their journey with the intention of visiting the tomb of St. Peter.[22]

He was forestalled in this design, however, by Erchenwald, major-domo to Clovis II, young king of Neustria and Burgundy.

[18] *Vita S. Fursei,* p. 405.
[19] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. II, p. 442.
[20] *Miracula S. Fursei, Cap. I,* in the *AA. SS. Jan.,* t. II, p. 406.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Causa visendi Romam navigavit. Vita S. Fursei,* p. 405.

Gebanus, Etto, Bertuin and Fredegangus. *Cf.* Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. II, p. 442; O'Hanlon, *Lives of Irish Saints,* Vol. I, p. 264. In its broad outline the story is possible. There can be little doubt but that at this time an organized effort was made to attract such missionaries to Belgium and northwestern France. We meet all of the above-named men in these regions towards the middle of the seventh century. It is not probable, however, that Madelgar led this group across the channel at one time.

More influential, or perhaps more persuasive, than Duke Haymon, he induced the Irish monk to accept the offer of a location in any part of the kingdom for a monastery. St. Fursey decided on a plot of land at Lagny (Latiniacum) on the River Marne, a few miles from Paris.[23] Here, about the year 644, Fursey erected his second monastery on foreign soil.[24] Erchenwald was so overjoyed at gaining St. Fursey for his service that he gave Lagny to him and his forever,—*ut sit tibi et tuis aptum habitaculum perennis temporibus.*[25] As at Burghcastle, monks rapidly gathered around the holy man. The news of his foundation spread to Ireland and, before long, friends and relatives, with Aemilian at their head, left Ireland to join Fursey at Lagny.[26] After long journeyings the band of *peregrini* under Aemilian found their master. The occasion was one of great rejoicing. Aemilian and his companions were happy because they once more saw him of whom all Ireland was still speaking; and Fursey with his young community rejoiced because God had sent countrymen to increase their ranks and carry on the apostolic work in foreign fields.

When the community at Lagny was firmly established St. Fursey appointed Aemilian as his successor.[27] Aemilian was succeeded by Eloquius, and he in turn by another son of Erin, Mimbolinus. Together with a few members of the community, Mimbolinus left Lagny to preach in the province of Noyon. The history of Lagny after the short reigns of these first four abbots is involved in obscurity. It is generally believed, however, that the community ceased to exist after the departure of Abbot Mimbolinus and that it was not restored until several centuries later.[28] But the *Annals of Lorsch* in the year 727 note the death of a Daniel of Lagny.[29] Though there is no hint who this Daniel

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[23] *Vita S. Fursei,* p. 407.

[24] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. II, p. 459.

[25] *Erchenoaldus constituit tres domesticos suos qui virum justum per diversa loca deducerent . . . ut qualis ei locus amabilior fuisset, ad habitandum daretur. Sanctus Furseus ex cunctis locis Latiniacum expetivit . . . Erchenoaldus dixit Furseo: Aedifica et ordina diligenter, ut sit tibi et tuis aptum perennis temporibus. . . . Hymno dicto, Sanctus Furseus Latiniacum suis manibus construxit.*

[26] Lynch-Kelly, *Cambrensis Eversus,* Vol. II, p. 702, note (p).

[27] *Vita S. Fursei, op. cit.,* p. 413.

[28] *Gallia Christiana,* t. VII, p. 490.

[29] *Annales Laureshamenses,* in the *MGH, SS,* t. I, p. 24.

may have been, there is every probability to suppose that the Irish chronicler of Murbach (*Vivarius Peregrinorum*), where the first part of the *Annales Laureshamenses* (Lorsch) were compiled, records the death of one of his countrymen at Lagny, no doubt a monk, and possibly the superior of the community. If this conjecture is correct, Lagny had a continued existence at least until the year 727, and perhaps longer.

St. Fursey's Gaelic nature, which at one time forced him into solitude and at another into the stream of active life, urged him to visit once more his two brothers, Foillan and Ultan, who apparently were still in the monastery of Burghcastle in England. However, before he could reach the mouth of the Somme he fell ill at Mazerolles, where he had restored to life the son of Duke Haymon a few years previously. There he received the last sacraments and died about the year 650.[30]

As soon as Erchenwald heard of the death of St. Fursey at Mazerolles, he hastened thither and ordered the body removed to Peronne against the will of Duke Haymon.[31] There the saint was buried on the Mons Cygnorum in a church newly built by Erchenwald in honor of St. Peter. This burial place of a popular and highly esteemed son of the Emerald Isle gave rise to perhaps the first monastery for the exclusive use of Irish monks on the continent—*Perrona Scottorum*—nearly seventy years before the next exclusively Irish monastery, St. Michael's, was founded on the Island of Honau in the Rhine near Strassburg.[32]

The news of the death of so great a man spread rapidly across the channel to England and Ireland, and soon a stream of devoted *peregrini* found its way to Peronne,—a stream which carried in its course even the founders of the *monasteria Scottorum* at Waulsort, Metz, and St. Michael in the forest of Tiérache during the tenth century. Among the first to arrive were the saint's brothers, Foillan and Ultan.[33] Since, however, they had been invited to the continent by St. Ita and St. Gertrude to labor in Brabant, more especially as teachers in the double

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[30] *Vita S. Fursei, op. cit.*, p. 405; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 461

[31] *Miracula S. Fursei, op. cit.*, p. 416.

[32] Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers*, p. 79; Levison, *Die Iren und die fränkische Kirche* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CI (1912), p. 21).

[33] *Vita S. Foillani,* in the *AA. SS. Oct.*, t. XIII, p. 411.

monastery at Nivelles, they did not long remain at Peronne, but passed to Belgium, where they were given an estate at Fosses. The gift was made by St. Gertrude with the assurance that Irish monks would find a welcome reception there. Aided by her generosity, Foillan and Ultan laid the foundations for a monastery which is sometimes called a *monasterium Scottorum.*[34] Foillan became the first abbot and was succeeded by his brother Ultan. The monastery of Fosses probably formed the rallying point for the numerous Irish missionaries in Belgium during the middle of the seventh century. St. Gertrude, who had shown such great hospitality to Foillan and Ultan, was held in high esteem by the Irish pilgrims who visited the continent in later centuries. She became one of the favorite saints of the *peregrini,* and it seems that they were instrumental in spreading her cult until she became one of the most popular saints of the Rhine country.[35]

To return to St. Fursey—four years after his death his remains were removed to a chapel especially built for their reception in the very church which Erchenwald had erected for the Irish missionary.[36] This may have been the occasion when the monastery was formally established at Peronne and Foillan made its first abbot. He remained, however, at the same time, the superior of the community at Fosses.[37] We have seen in the Introductory Chapter that the administration of more monasteries than one was an ordinary occurrence in early Irish ecclesiastical history.[38] St. Foillan, however, was not destined to rule his two communities very long, for he was murdered in the forest of Soignies on one of his journeyings from Fosses

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[34] Einhard, *Miracula S. Marcellini,* in the *AA. SS. Junii,* t. I, p. 203: . . . *de monasterio Scotorum quod Fossae vocatur. Cf.* Berlière, *Monasticon Belge,* t. I, p. 57. In the *Vita S. Foillani* (*AA. SS. Oct.*, t. XIII, p. 388) we read that St. Gertrude gave Foillan and Ultan a place called Fosses *ut in eo construerent loco monasterium ad perpetuale peregrinorum hospitium.* The two brothers of St. Fursey succeeded each other as abbots of Fosses and Peronne. Did Cellanus, third abbot of Peronne, rule over Fosses as his predecessors had done?

[35] Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers,* p. 132.

[36] *Vita S. Fursei, op. cit.*, p. 419.

[37] Traube, *Perrona Scottorum* (*Sitzungsbericht der philosoph. philolog.- und historischen Klasse der k. B. Akademie der Wissenschaft zu München,* 1900, pp. 496-538; reprinted in Traube's *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen,* 1920, Vol. III, p. 109).

[38] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II, p. 466, note 110.

to Nivelles.[39] His brother, Ultan, who succeeded him about year 656, appears to have held the office nearly thirty years. He in turn was followed as abbot in the Irish monastery of St. Fursey by Cellanus, after whose death in the year 706 we hear nothing more of Peronne until nearly three-quarters of a century later, when the *Annals of the Four Masters* record the death of an Abbot Monan of St. Fursey's.[40]

The Irish monastery at Peronne was situated on the Mons Cygnorum. Two lofty walls which flanked the northern and southern sides of the summit of this hill extended east and west so as to form a complete inclosure. Irish pilgrims and monks evidently came in great numbers to Peronne; for, not many years after the foundation of the monastery over the relics of St. Fursey, the village itself is spoken of as Irish, *Perrona Scottorum.*[41] When St. Foillan and later Ultan presided over the community they were often visited by people from their own country, and this concourse of Irishmen increased to such a degree after their death that there was an unceasing flux and reflux of Irish and Britons to and from the monastery. Some remained there as monks, others settled elsewhere in France, but the abbey at Peronne was long known as the monastery of the Irish.[42] The community continued in existence until about the year 880 when it was destroyed by the Normans.[43] In all probability it remained in Irish hands during these two hundred and twenty years. We are not absolutely sure of this. According to Traube, native monks of France and Britain were

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[39] *Vita I S. Foillani,* in the *AA. SS. Oct.,* t. XIII, p. 384.

The best English account of double monasteries, such as Nivelles, is found in Miss Mary Bateson's *Origin and Early History of Double Monasteries,* printed in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* XIII (1899), p. 197 sq.

[40] *Annals of the Four Masters,* ed. O'Donovan, Vol. I, p. 376: "The Age of Christ, 774; Monan, son of Cormac, abbot of Cathair Fursa in France, died." *Cf. Gallia Christiana,* Vol. III, p. 932.

[41] *Annales Mettenses* (*MGH, SS,* t. I, p. 319, 46): *Ad Peronnam Scottorum monasterium in quo beatus Furseus corpore requiescit. Sermo in tumulatione SS. Quintini, Victorini et Cassiani* (*MGH, SS,* t. XV, p. 272, 6): *Peronam Scottorum. Folcuini Gesta Abbatis S. Bertini* (*MGH, SS,* t. XIII, p. 626, 3): *Castrum quod dicitur Parona Scotorum.*

[42] Stokes, *Three Months,* p. 194.

[43] Traube, *Perrona Scottorum, op. cit.,* p. 110.

admitted to the ranks of the countrymen of Fursey.[44] Dom Gougaud, on the other hand, is of the opinion that *Perrona Scottorum* was the first monastery "for the exclusive use of *Scotti* to be found on the continent."[45] He is supported in this view by Levison.[46]

The question may be asked which rule the monks of this Irish foundation observed. According to Traube, they observed that of St. Benedict.[47] He bases his conclusion on a similarity of texts between a passage in the *Vita S. Fursei*, which was written by a monk of the Irish community at Peronne, and a paragraph in the Rule of S. Benedict. The passages are:

> "... *Ultanus, qui de monasterii probatione diuturna ad eremiticam vitam pervenerat.*"[48]

> "... *heremeticam qui monasterii probatione diuturna didicerunt.*"[49]

The striking similarity between these two passages indicates that the monks of Peronne were at least acquainted with the Benedictine Rule, and although the monks may not have observed the Rule of St. Benedict from the beginning, there can be little doubt but that they introduced it before the close of the seventh century.

True to their training at home the Irish at Peronne laid special stress on education. Together with the abbeys of Corbie and St. Riquier, Peronne formed a center for the cultivation of insular literature on the continent. It was in these three communities that the works of Aldhelm found a welcome reception. Abbot Cellanus is known to have corresponded with Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury (675-709). In a letter to Aldhelm, he describes himself as follows: "*Cellanus in Hiberniensi insula natus, in extremo Francorum limitis latens angulo exul,*

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[44] Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 110: *Wir dürfen uns wohl die inneren Einrichtungen und die Art seiner Bewohner, die gewiss nicht ausschliesslich Iren waren, gewiss auch nicht anders vorstellen als die in den meisten gleichzeitigen französischen Klöstern.*

[45] Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers*, p. 18.

[46] Levison, *Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche, op. cit.*, p. 21: *Rein irische Sliftungen evie Honan und Peronne sind nur Ausnahmen gewesen.*

[47] Traube, *op. cit.*, 110.

[48] *Miracula S. Fursei, op. cit.*, p. 408.

[49] *Regula S. Benedicti, Cap. I,* (Delatte, *Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict*, p. 27).

famosae ecclesiae Christi extremum et vile mancipium," and he refers to his monastery as the *"locus ubi dominus Furseus in sancto et integro pausat corpore."*[50]

The monks of Peronne early introduced the cult of St. Patrick in their community. It is even said that St. Fursey brought a relic of the apostle of Ireland with him to France and that this relic together with those of St. Beoan and St. Meldan adorned the altars of St. Peter's monastery.[51] That the monks of Peronne honored St. Patrick as their special patron is evident from the following verses which originally formed an inscription in a chapel dedicated to St. Patrick at Peronne:

> Istam Patricius sanctus sibi vindicat aulam, Quem merito nostri summo veneramur honore. Iste medelliferi monastravit dona lavacri. Hic etiam nobis Dominumque Deumque colendum Jussit et ignaram docuit bene credere gentem. Carpurnus genuit istum, alma Brittania misit, Gallia nutrivit, tenet ossa Scottia felix, Ambo stelligeri capientes praemia caeli.[52]

the earliest reference to the Saint on the continent. Moreover, they establish beyond doubt the close relation existing between Ireland and the monks of Peronne. Those who believe that St. Patrick was from the outset recognized and venerated as the apostle of all Ireland will find nothing remarkable in the circumstance that he should be thus commemorated by an Irish community abroad; while those who hold with Zimmer that the wider recognition and cult of St. Patrick only set in towards the middle of the seventh century, will see in the verses dating from the end of that century the first official intimation preserved to us of the general acceptance of the 'Patrick-legend.'[53]

With the restoration of the Shrine of St. Fursey after the Norse raids, the foundation passed from the hands of Irish monks into the possession of native canons.[54] But *peregrini* monks and missionaries still made it a point to stop at Peronne before they began their activities further inland.[55] Moreover,

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[50] Traube, *loc. cit.*

[51] Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[52] Eriu, Vol. V (1911), p. 110: Kuno Meyer, *Verses from a Chapel dedicated to St. Patrick at Peronne.*

[53] *Ibidem.*

[54] Traube, *loc. cit.*

[55] *Vita S. Cadroe,* in the *AA. SS. Martii,* t. I, p. 476.

the tomb of St. Fursey attracted enormous crowds of pilgrims to Peronne from all parts of France. The church which was the depository of these sacred relics found in the expression of the people's gratitude a fertile source of wealth. Gold and silver were used in profusion in every adornment that could contribute to the splendor of the service. Especially its reliquaries and shrines were of such magnificence that century after century the church proved a temptation to the despoilers. The relics of St. Fursey, when taken out of the original shrine in 1056, were deposited in another shrine quite as rich but more modern, in which they remained until the French Revolution, when the church was razed to the ground. Fortunately the relics were saved from ruin and are now enshrined in the church of St. John in the village of Peronne.[56]

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[56] Stokes, *op. cit.,* p. 190.

CHAPTER II

St. Michael's Monastery on the Island of Honau

With the foundation of St. Peter's Monastery at Peronne, the Irish had at least one community on the continent where the *peregrini* monks and missionaries could meet with their own countrymen before entering on their labors in more distant fields. Peronne, too, situated as it was on the Somme, offered a convenient starting point for the southward journey to the Irish hospice of St. Fiacrius near Meaux, or for the easterly route through Belgium or Luxemburg to the regions of the Rhine. As we have seen in the preceding chapter the Irish were, moreover, assured a welcome reception at Fosses, which probably formed a rallying point for the numerous Gaelic missionaries in Belgium about the middle of the seventh century.[1]

But the *peregrini* sought other, more distant, spheres of labor. Like the Irish immigrants who took a most prominent part in crowding back the American frontier, their kinsfolk twelve centuries earlier contributed much of the brain and the brawn that extended the frontiers of Christian civilization and carried the light of the Gospel into regions where Christ was a stranger or where His doctrine was ignored. Hence it need not surprise us that a gradual shift of missionary activity up the Rhine and eastward down the Danube soon becomes apparent. The *peregrini* felt the need of missionary centers in the northern and eastward reaches of Germany and in the Danube valley. If, therefore, the end of the seventh century witnessed Alsace as the most fertile field for their manifold labors, it was not long thereafter that they crossed the Rhine and began their apostolic work amongst the Thuringians and Bavarians.[2]

In Alsace, St. Disibod (d. *ca.* 674) with several Irish com-

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[1] Vernulaeus, *De Propagatione Fidei Christianae in Belgio per Sanctos ex Hibernia Viros, Louvanii,* 1639. Grosjean, *Sancti Hiberniae in Belgio,* in the *Analecta Bollandiana,* t. XLIII, fasc. I and II, 1925, p. 115. The latter is a Latin poem about the Irish saints honored in Belgium.

[2] Bauerreiss, *Irische Frümissionäre in Südbayern,* in the *Wissenschaftliche Festgabe zum St. Corbiniansjubiläeum,* p. 42.

panions founded Disibodenberg.[3] St. Roding (d. *ca.* 680) laid the foundation of Beaulieu, where he was surrounded by many of his countrymen.[4] Arbogast and Florentius, who were both Irish bishops and succeeded each other in the see of Strassburg, founded monasteries at Surburg and Haselac during the latter half of the seventh century.[5] Moreover, during the episcopacy of St. Florentius, about the year 680, a *monasterium Scottorum* in honor of St. Thomas was established in Strassburg.[6]

It is impossible to say what part, if any, King Dagobert II played in bringing Irish missionaries and monks to these regions. It might be worthy of note, however, to recall that Major-domo Grimoald, upon the death of his master, King Sigebert III, had the youthful King Dagobert II shorn of his flowing locks and spirited off to Ireland, where he enjoyed the hospitality of Irish monks for nearly a score of years.[7] At all events, shortly after his return to France and his accession to the throne of Austrasia (*ca.* 674) there is an appreciable increase in missions and monasteries within his realm, especially in Alsace. Irishmen follow one another in the see of Strassburg; monasteries arise; one especially in Strassburg is set aside for sheltering Irish pilgrims. Is it unlikely, therefore, to suppose that King Dagobert II, who had ample opportunity during his long years of exile to observe Irish asceticism, to learn to appreciate Irish learning, and to admire Irish enthusiasm for apostolic labor, should be alive to the good these men of God could do among his half-Christian subjects, and offer them every inducement to come to his own country?[8]

Be this as it may, whether we accept or reject King Dagobert's influence in bringing Irish monks to Alsace,[9] whether we accept or reject the Irish descent of Arbogast, Florentius, Theodatus, Hildulf and Erard,[10] the fact remains that during the first

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[3] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands,* Bd. I, p. 280.

[4] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. II, p. 491; *Vita S. Rodingi,* in the *AA. EE. Sept.,* t. V, p. 508; Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O.S.B.,* Sec. IV, Pt. II, App. 513-517.

[5] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. III, p. 101.

[6] Schoepflin, *Alsatia Illustrata,* t. I, p. 736.

[7] *Liber Hist. Franc., ed.* Krusch in the *MGH, SS Merov.,* t. II, p. 316.

[8] *Cum Dagobertus rex regni Francorum gubernacula sederet, sanctus Florentius cum beato Arbogasto, Theodato et Hildulpho, ex Scotia in Alsatiam venit.* Surius, *Vitae Sanctorum,* Nov. 7.

[9] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol III, p. 101.

[10] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands,* Bd. I, p. 343.

quarter of the eighth century Irish monks became so numerous along the Rhine that they found it necessary to establish another independent monastery for their own countrymen, and that this was the abbey of St. Michael on the island of Honau in the Rhine near Strassburg—*Honaugia Scottorum.*[11] Irish monks, too, formed at least an appreciable part of the members belonging to the *congregatio peregrinorum,* the principal monastery of which was Murbach, better known in the early documents as the *Vivarius Peregrinorum.*[12]

The historical information about St. Michael's Monastery is based principally on a few charters communicated to Dom Mabillon by John Le Labourer, a canon of St. Peter's Church, Strassburg, who transcribed them from vellum manuscripts of the year 1079, into which they had been carefully copied by Leo, a canon of Honau.[13] Jodoc Coccius, who wrote a biography of King Dagobert II during the sixteenth century, said he saw over a thousand documents in the archives of Strassburg, all dealing with donations made to St. Michael's Monastery on the island of the Rhine.[14] Apparently these were all destroyed or scattered to the four winds.

As stated above, Honau was a small island in the Rhine situated several miles down the river from Strassburg.[15] The Gaelic monks, indeed, were known for their fondness of building monasteries on small islands or near streams.[16] Perhaps the islands reminded them of their own country; they certainly offered them the desired separation from the rest of the world, the *desertum,* so dear to many *peregrini.*[17] The places chosen, moreover, with their abundant and varied vegetation, satisfied

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[11] *MGH, Urkunden der Karolinger,* t. I, p. 111, no. 77; Schoepflin, *op. cit.,* p. 737.

[12] *MGH, op. cit.,* p. 25, no. 17; *ib.,* p. 93, no. 64; *ib.,* p. 136, no. 95.

[13] Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B.,* t. II, *App.* pp. 695-700; Reeves, *The Irish Abbey of Honau on the Rhine,* in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Vol. VI (1853-1857), pp. 452-461, gives brief abstracts in English of the charters printed in Mabillon.

[14] Coccius, *Dagobert,* p. 133.

[15] Honau, *hohe Au.* In English: high or pleasant meadow.

[16] Dom Bauerreiss, *op. cit.,* p. 53, gives the following examples: "Iona, Hy, Lindisfarne, St. Vandrille. Lorsch, Ebersmunster, Noirmoutier, Reichenau, Honau, u.a.v." He apparently considers Iona and Hy two distinct monasteries—a not uncommon mistake. They are different names for the same place. *Cf.* Reeves. *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba,* p. 413.

[17] Reeves, *op. cit.,* p. 336, 418.

the Gael's inborn love of nature.[18] Thus, too, St. Fridolin finally settled on the island of Seckingen in the Rhine; St. Pirmin founded his great monastery, Reichenau, on a small island in Lake Constance; St. Fintan brought lustre on the monastery of Rheinau, also located on a small island in the Rhine, just as Benedict of Honau erected his exclusively Irish community on another island of the Rhine.

The latter monastery found its benefactor in the family of Duke Adelbert of Alsace.[19] Peronne had its Erchenwald, Fosses its Gertrude, and Honau its Adelbert. That duke, in fact, was a great-grandson of Major-domo Erchenwald and a brother of St. Odilia.[20] His son, Eberhard, in turn, a few years later (727) granted his property at Murbach to the Irish *peregrini* to found the famous *Vivarius Peregrinorum.* His sister, St. Odilia, is supposed to have been baptized by an Irish bishop, and to have employed a *peregrinus* to effect a reconciliation with her father when, in consequence of her conversion, he had driven her from the paternal roof.[21] Later she engaged *peregrini* priests as teachers and spiritual directors in her community at Hohenburg and received young ladies from the British Isles into her convent.[22] Hence, with a traditional generosity, in the family, towards Irish monks, it is not surprising that Duke Adelbert was favorably disposed towards the *peregrini* and granted his portion of the island of Honau to Abbot Benedict and his companions.[23]

The first grant of land was made about the year 720, and within the next generation St. Michael's Monastery came into possession of the whole island through the kindness of other members of the Duke's family.[24] Boronus, the son of Adel-

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[18] *Kein Volk hat so früh und vollständig die Natur in ihren kleinsten wie grossartigsten Erscheinungen beobachtet und geliebt.* Kuno Meyer, *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry,* 1911, p. XII; *cf.* Bauerreiss, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[19] Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O.S.B.*, t. II, pp. 695-700.

[20] *Commentarius Praevius ad Vitam S. Erardi,* in the *AA. SS. Jan.*, t. I, p. 534: *Sancta Odilia filia fuit Adalrici (Etticonis) qui filius dicitur fuisse Leudesii, filii Erchenoaldi. Cf.* Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. III, pp. 105-110.

[21] *Vita S. Odiliae,* in the *Analecta Bollandiana* t. XIII, p. 16.

[22] *Vita S. Odiliae, op. cit.*, p. 23; Grandidier, *Hist. de l'église de Strasbourg,* p. 27.

[23] Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O.S.B.*, t. II, p. 595.

[24] Mabillon, *loc. cit.;* Reeves, *The Irish Abbey of Honau, op. cit.*, p. 454.

bert's brother, Bothelo, assigned in June, 724, to the monastery of St. Michael that portion of the island of Honau which he had inherited from his father, beside, a holding in Geollistet occupied by a certain Bobo.[25] In September of the same year Haicho, a brother of Duke Adelbert, granted his portion of the island to the Irish community,[26] a generosity that was followed by similar grants of land on the island in December by the Duke's two sons, Luitfrid and Eberhard.[27] The abbey seems to have held its own during the turbulent times of Charles Martel. Shortly after his death we read of further grants of land, until about the year 750 the Irish monks, now under Abbot Tuban, who like his predecessor was also bishop, seem to have been in complete possession of the island.[28]

From its very beginning the Irish community was under special royal protection. In 724 King Theodoric IV (720-737) designated Tuban successor to Abbot Benedict.[29] In an undated charter, probably of the year 748, King Pepin, at the request of Tuban, *episcopus vel abbas de monasterio Hohenaugia,* confirmed to him all and sundry his possessions whether royal grants, donations of subjects, acquisitions of antecedent abbots, or the augmentations which had been made by the same Tuban, and now enjoyed by him.[30] The clause in this charter, "acquisitions of antecedent abbots," indicates that there were several abbots before Tuban, whereas we know of Abbot Benedict only. Another explanation, however, is possible. Tuban's name is sometimes given as Duban. It is possible that Tuban and Duban were two different persons. If this is true, then there were at least two abbots of Honau before Tuban. But Bishop Reeves is inclined to think that Tuban and Duban stand for the same man.[31]

In March, 770, King Karloman, son of Pepin, at the request of Abbot Stephen, exempted the monastery from all judicial intrusion or interference,[32] and a few years later, Charlemagne,

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[25] Mabillon, *loc. cit.*

[26] *Ibidem.*

[27] *Ibidem.*

[28] *Ibidem.*

[29] Grandidier, *op. cit.*, tit. 21.

[30] *MGH, Urkunden der Karolinger,* t. I, p. 14, no. 10.

[31] Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

[32] *MGH, op. cit.,* p. 69, no. 50.

at the petition of Abbot Beatus, confirmed the preceding grants.[33] According to this charter of Charlemagne (perhaps spurious but giving the essence of a genuine document), the great ruler in June, 786, granted a confirmation of all the donations antecedently made to St. Michael's monastery by kings, queens, or other servants of God, but of which through neglect the charters had some years before been lost. In this charter Charlemagne makes mention of Abbot Beatus *ex monasterio Scottorum, quod vocatur Hohenaugia, quod Benedictus episcopus in honore S. Michaelis novo construxit opere, ubi ipse venerabilis pater corpore requiescit.*[34] In the course of the charter he styles the monastery *casa Dei* and *ecclesia sancti loci.* In the year 781 Charlemagne went a step further and exempted the Irish community from all tolls and imposts.[35]

With the repeated assurance of royal protection and with the frequent gifts of generous friends, it is not surprising that St. Michael's monastery grew rapidly and was able to send monks out into the neighborhood to take care of churches, and even to found other monasteries.[36] Thus, monks from Honau are said to have founded communities at Lautenbach, Aschaffenburg and Rheinau.[37] It is quite evident from a charter of Abbot Beatus that his community grew to great importance towards the end of the eighth century.[38] For in this charter or testament, Abbot Beatus donates *pro animae remedio* everything whatsoever he had acquired by his own efforts and by the generosity of others, as well as the property which he found confirmed by previous charters, especially by the charter of Charlemagne, to the monastery of Honau in favor of the Irish monks for whom the convent was erected. Then follows a specific

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[33] *MGH, op. cit.*, p. 143, no. 100.

[34] *Ibidem.*

[35] *MGH, op. cit.*, p. 187, no. 137.

[36] Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche,* Vol. 1, p. 124, note 1.

[37] Woog, *Elsäschische Schaubühne,* p. 153, *Als sich die Mönche in der Abtei Honau ziemlich vermehrten, hat der Abt Beatus verschiedene andere Probsteien gestiftet und seine Mönche darin verteilt, dergleichen: Lautenbach, Rheinau, Münster im Ergau. Cf.* Schoepflin, *Alsatia Illustrata, t.* I, p. 448; *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner und Cistercienser Orden,* Vol. I, p. 110; *Freiburger Diozesanarchiv,* 1910, p. 100.

[38] Schoepflin. *Alsatia Diplomata,* t. I, p. 49, no. LI. Dom Mabillon gives the year 810 as the year of composition; Dr. Levison, *Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche, op. cit.*, p. 16 would place the same charter at 782. He does not state his reason.

enumeration of churches which he included in his donation. First is the church which he had built in Mayence. This was probably St. Paul's, which was occasionally called an *ecclesia Scottorum.*[39] The second is a church in *Sylvia in Marchlichio;* a third church at Lognow *in curte nuncupata Wisha;* another in Hawenbach; a fifth in Bubenheim; a sixth in Rodesheim; a seventh in Hurmusa, and the last in Buchonia. Abbot Beatus willed these churches with all their belongings to his successor, together with the fields, and meadows, forests, lakes, streams, moveable and immovable goods of St. Michael's Monastery; and he gave his successors the right to use this property for any purpose whatsoever, as long as it was done *regulariter et ecclesiastice.* The document is signed by Abbot Beatus, by a priest named Hemenus, and by seven Irish bishops: Comganus, Echodh, Suathar, Maucumgib, Caincomrihc, Doilgusso, Erdomnach.[40] In regard to their names Dom Mabillon remarks: "It is quite evident from the barbarous names that these seven bishops were all Irish (Scotti)."[41] To this remark Bishop Reeves answered: "They are truly Scots, but their names are not barbarous; at least we, who find most of them in our records and know how to pronounce them, do not think so."[42]

In the Introductory Chapter we mentioned that monastic bishops, such as we find them mentioned in this charter of Honau, formed a common institution in Irish church discipline.[43] They were monks in episcopal orders, without a fixed diocese. They belonged to St. Michael's Monastery and were under the jurisdiction of Abbot Beatus. It was their duty to perform episcopal functions for the monastery and within its dependent districts. The practice of having one or more monks consecrated bishop was usually found in exempt communities, such as Honau and Murbach, during the eighth century. The present instance of seven bishops belonging to the same abbey is per-

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[39] Falk, *Schottenklöster in Elsass,* in the *Katholik,* 1868, II, p. 316; Heber, *Die Vorkarolingischen Christlichen Glaubensboten am Rheim,* p. 192.

[40] Schoepflin, *loc. cit.*

[41] Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B.,* t. II, p. 59.

[42] Reeves, *op. cit.,* p. 549.

[43] Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba,* pp. 339 *sq.;* Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O.S.B.,* t. III, *praefatio* XIII-XV; Pflugk-Harttung, *The Old Irish on the Continent,* in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* N.S., Vol. V, p. 84; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. II, p. 252; Workman, *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal,* p. 194.

haps the most remarkable example of Irish monastic bishops on record. Sometimes the abbot himself was consecrated bishop and performed episcopal duties in his dependent churches and cells, as was the case with the first abbots of Honau who are sometimes called bishop and then again abbot. Beatus may have been consecrated bishop, but there is no record of this.

In spite of exemptions and immunities, of royal protection and privileges, St. Michael's Monastery on the island of Honau suffered from the greed of the times, as we learn from a charter of Charlemagne, of about the year 773.[44] In this document the king commanded all who had despoiled the Irish of their property to restore the ill-gotten goods to their lawful owners. "For the king considers the property of the *peregrini* as personal," the charter states, "and any despoliation of their possessions is an act of disobedience to the king." The charter adds that the Frankish rulers granted the Irish monks of Honau the privilege that none but Irish should possess their churches—*ut nulla generatio praeter eorum generationem possideat ecclesias eorum.* Here St. Michael's Monastery is called an *ecclesia Scottorum,* and the charter speaks of other *ecclesiae,* that is, monasteries.[45] Although the *hospitalia Scottorum* are not mentioned, nor the *Vivarius Peregrinorum,* it is not improbable that these were meant by the charter of Charlemagne. Two years later the same ruler ordered the return of property in Osthofen and Hohengoeft which the monastery of Corbie had unlawfully acquired from Honau.[46]

Unfortunately, even before the death of Charlemagne, the troubles of St. Michael's Monastery became more serious. The bad reputation caused by certain Irishmen, who called themselves bishops and who went about ordaining deacons and priests simoniacally without permission from any ecclesiastical authority, no doubt, also affected the monks of Honau and other Irish institutions.[47] As a result of this unfortunate behavior of some

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[44] *MGH, Urkunden der Karolinger,* p. 110, no. 7.

[45] *Ibidem.*

[46] *Op. cit.,* p. 115, no. 110.

[47] Mansi, t. XIV, p. 102, *Concilium Cabilonense II, A. D.* 813, *can.* XLIII: *Sunt in quibusdam locis Scoti qui se dicunt episcopos esse, et multos negligentes, absque licentia dominorum suorum sive magistrorum, presbyteros et diaconos ordinant; quorum ordinationem, quia plerumque in simoniacam incidit haeresim et multos erroribus subjacet, modis omnibus irritam fieri debere omnes uno consensu decrevimus.*

peregrini, the Irish everywhere in the Frankish kingdom suffered during the first half of the ninth century. They were driven from many of their hospices, and if the monks of Honau were not dispossessed of their monastery, they no doubt suffered loss of property in more distant districts.[48]

It is difficult to determine how long St. Michael's Monastery remained a Benedictine community. According to Bishop Reeves, the abbey passed into the hands of secular canons during the ninth century.[49] There is no record of an abbot after the death of Beatus, the last notice of whom we find in the charter of 810.[50] Emperor Charles the Fat in 884 once more confirmed the possessions of Honau and assured the members of the community the right to elect their own superior.[51] Secular canons eventually came into possession of St. Michael's, probably about the year 1079.[52] In a subsequent age, the college of canons was transferred to Old St. Peter's in Strassburg.[53]

The monks, and later the canons, of Honau showed special devotion to St. Brigid of Ireland. Speaking of Old St. Peter's, Grandidier writes in his *Histoire de l'église et des évêques de Strasbourg*: "On the first of February the relics of St. Brigid of Kildare are reverenced there. In our own day they still call certain 'cantons' which belong to the collegiate church the *dimes* (tithes) of Saint Brigid, not because, as some papers assert, they were given to the church of Honau by that saint, but because the Scotch or Irish who came to dwell in it brought there from their own land a portion of her relics, and this led the people to honor with the name of St. Brigid the property they consecrated to her. The canons of Old St. Peter's at Strassburg have under their control the loaves of St. Brigid, and their best wine also bears the 'rubric' of this saint."[54]

The abbots of Honau whose names have been preserved were: Benedict, Tuban, Thomas, Stephen and Beatus. This list, incidentally, shows how futile it is to argue that certain missionaries

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[48] *MGH, Leges I, Capitularia Karoli II,* p. 390-391.

[49] Reeves, *The Irish Abbey of Honau,* p. 461.

[50] Schoepflin, *Alsatiae Diplomata,* t. I, p. 49.

[51] *Ibidem. Cf.* Heber, *op. cit.,* p. 191-193: *Habeant potestatem eligendi inter se priorem qui fideliter religionem et eorum causas procurare studeat.*

[52] Heimbucher, *op. cit.,* p. 124; *Aschaffenburg wurde frühzeitig in ein Kollegiatstift umgewandelt, und dasselbe geschah, 1079, mit Honau selbst.*

[53] Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B.,* t. II, p. 60.

[54] Grandidier, *op. cit.,* t. I, p. 406; Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers,* p. 108.

on the continent about this time were not from Ireland because their names were not Irish. Moreover, the fact that the first abbot of this Irish community went under the name of Benedict indicates that the "animosity" between Columban and Benedictine monks had nearly disappeared by the beginning of the eighth century. To say the least, the picture of this animosity or rivalry was heavily overdrawn by certain writers of the nineteenth century.[55]

The island of Honau on which St. Michael's Monastery stood, and from which Irish monks carried on apostolic labor, was washed away gradually by the constant erosion of the Rhine. The situation became so precarious that in the year 1290 the remainder of the community was transferred to Rheinau.[56] Shortly after this the island suffered the same fate that befell its early inhabitants. Just as the current of the Rhine destroyed all traces of the once beautiful *Hohen Au,* so the current of time has washed into oblivion the memory of the Irish monks who spent their lives there *pro Dei amore.*

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[55] Ebrard, *Die Iro-Schottische Missionskirche,* Güterloh, 1873; Heber, *Die vorkarolingischen christlichen Glaubensboten am Rhein,* Frankfurt, 1858.

[56] *Verlegung nach Rheinau im Elsass,* 7 ept., 1290. *Cf. Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins,* Vol. IV (1853), p. 277; Schoepflin. *Alsatia Illustrata,* t. I, p. 192.

CHAPTER III

ST. PETER'S MONASTERY AT MURBACH

In the two preceding chapters we saw that certain noble families on the continent took a leading part in founding communities for Irish monks. Perhaps none, however, played a more important role than the family of Count Ettico I of Alsace.[1] His grandfather, Major-domo Erchenwald, founded a monastery for the Irish at Peronne; his oldest son, Count Adelbert, began the monastery of St. Michael on the island of Honau; and his daughter, St. Odilia, received Irish nuns into her community at Hohenburg.[2] A grandson, Heddo, became the first abbot of St. Pirmin's foundation at Reichenau, and later, when he was bishop of Strassburg, endowed the struggling community founded by the Irish St. Landelin at Ettenheim.[3] In the present chapter we shall see how Eberhard, another grandson of Count Ettico, was the generous patron of Murbach, where St. Pirmin established probably the largest and most influential Irish monastery on the continent before the rise of St. James at Ratisbon. The abbey of Murbach was erected in memory of St. Leodegar, who was a brother of Count Eberhard's grandmother, Bereswinde; it was dedicated to St. Peter and Our Blessed Lady. In the official documents of the eighth and ninth centuries it is usually called *Vivarius Peregrinorum*, that is, the home or habitation of *peregrini* monks.[4]

According to Schoepflin, the historian of Alsace, a colony of Irish monks had settled in the vicinity of Murbach towards the end of the seventh century.[5] This is borne out by the oldest

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[1] For the genealogy of Count Ettico see: *Commentarius praevius in vitam S. Erardi*, in the *AA. SS. Jan.*, t. I, p. 534; *cf.* Grandidier, *Histoire d'Alsace*, t. I, *Pièces justificatives*, no. 45.

[2] *Vita S. Odiliae, Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XIII, p. 23.

[3] Hefele, *Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums in südwestlichen Deutschland*, p. 333; Hogan, *Irish Monasteries in Germany*, in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1907, p. 515.

[4] Schoepflin, *Alsatia Illustrata*, t. I, p. 10, no. IX; *MGH, Urkunden der Karolinger*, t. I, nos. 17, 64, 95.

[5] Schoepflin, *op. cit.*, p. 737.

annals of Murbach which begin: *Viri devoti . . . de Scotia . . . in Alsatiam pervenerunt . . . et ad locum magis solitariam, scilicet super Vivarium se locaverunt.*[6] They had begun the construction of a monastery on the property of Count Eberhard and with his encouragement when St. Pirmin came to their aid.

St. Pirmin is an obscure figure in history.[7] His native land is unknown, the place of his early activity uncertain, and nearly every phase of his mission subject to divergent interpretations. First of all, he is a saint without a country. Some German writers claim him in a half-hearted manner as one of their own, probably because his name appears to be German.[8] Other writers, like Abbot Trithemius, believe that he was born in France, however, without much evidence in their favor; for the saint's oldest biographer, Abbot Rabanus Maurus, who lived only a few years after Pirmin's death, wrote: *Pirminius patriam deseruit . . . gentem Francorum quaesivit.* Certainly if Pirmin left his native country in order to seek the nation of the Franks, he cannot be said to have been born in France.[9] Still other writers, like Dr. Hauck, realize that Pirmin was not a native of Germany or France, but hold that he came from England, and they base their argument for his English ancestry on the fact that he introduced the Benedictine Rule into his communities on the continent.[10] This might have been used as an argument against Pirmin's Irish descent if he had come to the continent during the times of St. Fursey; it scarcely holds a century later when the Benedictine Rule has absorbed all its competitors. There remain a very respectable number of

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[6] *Murbacher Annalen,* printed in the *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte,* vol. 4 (1882-1885), p. 167.

[7] *Vita S. Pirminii,* edited with valuable commentary by DeSmedt, in the *AA. SS. Nov.,* t. I, p. 22 sq. Printed also in Mone, *Quellensammlung der Badischen Landesgeschichte,* Vol. I, pp. 30-36; *MGH, SS,* t. XV, pp. 17-35. *Cf.* Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen,* Vol. I, p. 275, 374.

[8] Wiegand, *Der hl. Pirminius,* in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* vol. 26, p. 179: *Wie es scheint stammte Pirminius aus den westlichen Theilen des Frankenreiches, vielleicht aus Neustrien..* Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter,* Vol. 1, p. 301: ". . . *der aus Spanien stammende Landbischof Pirmin.*"

[9] Trithemius, *Opera Historica, ed.* Frankfurt, 1608, p. 60; *MGH, Poetae Latini,* t. II, p. 244.

[10] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands,* Vol. I, p. 316.

historians, however, who hold that St. Pirmim was of Irish descent.[11] It must be admitted, once for all, that with our present data it is impossible to prove conclusively that Pirmin was from Ireland; but his activity remains a puzzle unless we accept him as the last of the great Irish apostles.[12]

Like countless others of his countrymen, St. Pirmin took the vow of peregrination and arrived in France about the beginning of the eighth century. He began his apostolic labors in a place called by the *Vita S. Pirminii, Melcis castello,* wherever that is. According to the *Vita: Pirminius . . . Melcis castello pastoralis curae episcopatum sine crimine tenebat.*[13] The location of *Melcis castellum* has given rise to a great deal of discussion. Some writers claim to have found the *Melcis castellum* in Medelsheim, not far from Zweibrücken in the old diocese of Strassburg;[14] others think it is Mels, near Sargans, in the diocese of Chur;[15] a few would seek it in Moelsbrueck near Bruxelles,[16] and still others in Metz.[17] The most probable place, however, is Meaux. The words *Melcis, Meldis,* and *Meltis* are Latin variations for Meaux and there does not appear to be any good reason why we should render *Melcis* by Medelsheim or Moelsbrueck instead of accepting it as its face value. Since St. Pirmin was a regionary bishop and as such had no definite diocese over

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[11] De Smedt, *Commentarius in Vitam S. Pirminii,* in the *AA. SS., Nov.,* t. II, p. 6; Le Cointe, *Annales* IV, p. 665; Pertz, in the *MGH, SS,* t. II, p. 19; Görringer, *Pirminius: Geschichte des linken Rheinufers,* p. 385; Blumhart, *Missionsgeschichte,* Bd. II, p. 678. Morin, in the *Revue Bénédictine,* 1914, p. 182; Fink, *Zur ältesten Vita des heiligen Pirminius,* in *Dritter Jahresbericht der Bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie,* 1924, p. 22; Dunn, *Irish Monks on the Continent,* in the *Catholic University Bulletin,* 1904, p. 326; Hogan, *St. Pirminius of Reichenau,* in the *Irish Eccles. Record,* 1894, p. 405.

[12] Barthelot, in Lavisse-Rambaud, *Histoire Générale,* t. I, p. 288. *Cf. Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique,* July, 1926, p. 680: *L'organisation monacale que S. Pirmin donnait aux eglises fondees par lui, prouve son origin irlandaise ou écossaise.*

[13] *Vita S. Pirminii,* in the *AA. SS. Nov.,* t. II, p. 34.

[14] DeSmedt, *Com. praev. op. cit.,* p. 10; Grandidier, *Histoire de l'église de Strasbourg,* t. I, p. 298. Hefele, *Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums im südwestlichen Deutschland,* p. 337; Görringer, *Pirminius,* p. 390; Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands,* Bd. II, p. 53; Mone, *Quellensammlung,* t. I, p. 30.

[15] Neugart, *Episcopatus Constant.,* t. I, p. 70; Friederich, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschland,* t. II, p. 583.

[16] Morin, in the *Revue Bénédictine,* 1914-1919, p. 182; Fink, *Zur ältesten Vita des hl. Pirminius, op. cit.,* p. 21.

[17] DeSmedt, *Com. praev. in Vitam S. Pirminii, op. cit.,* p. 8.

which he ruled, it is futile to look for his name in the list of bishops of Meaux or of any other episcopal city.[18] As an Irishman he would have been welcome in the vicinity of Meaux; for it was here that St. Fiacrius with the help of the bishop of Meaux, St. Faro, had established a hospice for Irish pilgrims;[19] and only a few miles distant was one of St. Fursey's foundations, Lagny, where four Irish abbots followed one another in rapid succession.

St. Pirmin preached the word of God with great fervor and success both in Latin and in the language of the Franks. Incidentally, if Primin had been a Frank, it would scarcely have been worth while recording, as the *Vita* does, that he also spoke the *lingua Francorum.*[20] We have a similar instance in the *Vita* of St. Gall, an undoubted Irishman, where the biographer cites as a specimen of his linguistic versatility that Gall preached in the native Alemannic language.

The fame of St. Pirmin's preaching spread even to distant places until it reached the ears of an Alemannic noble by the name of Sintlaz, who loved to make pilgrimages and who had the welfare of the native church very much at heart.[21] Consequently, when Sintlaz was informed of the remarkable success of the regionary bishop, Pirmin, he made his way to Meaux. There, when he heard Pirmin deliver an exhortation to the faithful, he decided at once that here was the man needed to restore religious life in his native land. He represented to the saint the urgent needs of his locality, the decline of faith, the decay of churches and the people asking for Christian teaching but no one to answer their call.

Pirmin was much impressed with this appeal and particularly with the sincerity and the manifest desire which Sintlaz showed to render all assistance in his power. But Pirmin was also a cautious man. He did not want to act contrary to the constituted authority. At Meaux he preached *sine crimine,* which probably means that he had the consent of the bishop.[22] He therefore reminded the nobleman of the canons of the Church

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[18] Hermannus Contractus, *Chronicon ad annum 724,* in Migne, *PL,* Vol. CXLIII, col. 156.

[19] *Vita S. Fiacrii,* in the *AA. SS. Aug.,* t. VI, p. 604 sq.

[20] *Vita S. Pirminii,* p. 34.

[21] *Ibidem.*

[22] *Ibidem.*

which forbade an outsider to preach in the diocese of another bishop without his permission. He agreed, however, to undertake the mission if the Holy Father authorized him to do so. He is said to have answered Sintlaz: *Non esse licitum alterius episcopi diocesim causa docendi aliquem sibi usurpare sine consensu praesulis sive jussu pontifics apostolicae sedis.*[23] That this is not a mere *Tendenz* sentence put into the mouth of St. Pirmin by his biographer is borne out by his subsequent procedure, for he agreed to visit Rome with Sintlaz and ask papal sanction for the undertaking.

Pope Gregory II, who but recently had received several unfavorable reports from St. Boniface concerning the activities of Irish bishops and priests on the continent, was at first somewhat distrustful of Pirmin. When told that Pirmin was a bishop *de occidentali parte,* he is reported to have said: *De talibus nos praecavere oportet.*[24] It is not likely that the pope would have made this remark about a countryman of St. Boniface; very probably he had in mind certain Irish regionary bishops who did a great deal of harm in various sections of the Frankish kingdom by ordaining clerics who were not fit for the ecclesiastical state or by leading an unrestrained life.[25] Pope Gregory II, however, soon changed his opinion of Pirmin, and as a mark of his special favor and confidence, he gave Sintlaz a letter to King Theodoric IV of France, advising, persuading, and commanding him to recommend Pirmin to all the bishops in his realm and obtain their consent to his preaching in the districts under their jurisdiction, and doing whatever else Pirmin thought necessary for the advancement of religion.[26] Furnished with this authority, the zealous bishop at once proceeded to France; and, having secured the necessary consent of the local authorities according to the canons of the church and the directions of the pope, set about his mission.

This mission was the restoration of monastic discipline. St. Pirmin was to the organization of monasteries what St. Boniface was to that of dioceses. He considered it his mission to reform, restore, and erect monasteries as Boniface reformed,

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[23] *Id.,* p. 36.

[24] *Ibidem.*

[25] Jaffe, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum,* t. III, p. 103.

[26] *Vita S. Pirminii,* p. 37.

restored, and erected dioceses. The list of communities founded or reformed by St. Pirmin is indeed large. It includes Altaich, Gengenbach, Schuttern, Maursmünster, Schwarzach, Neuwiler, Murbach, Hornbach and Reichenau. A few other abbeys claimed him as founder or restorer, such as Disentis, Pfungense, Pfäffers, Mondsee, Ober-Altaich, Niederburg, Osterhof, Pfaffenmünster, and Beaulieu.[27] Both men, Boniface and Pirmin, labored for the edification of the Church under the direction of Rome. The world knows how successful St. Boniface was in his efforts; it is not so well informed about St. Pirmin.

Pirmin spent some time with Sintlaz, probably preaching and teaching in the upper regions of the Rhine, when the nobleman induced him to establish a community on his property.[28] True to Irish traditions, he selected a beautiful island in Lake Constance, whence, like a second St. Patrick, he drove out snakes and harmful vermin, and then with the aid of others laid the foundations of Reichenau.[29] But it was not his mission to remain in one place. After he had put the community on a firm basis, he appointed Heddo, descendant of Major-domo Erchenwald and son of Count Adelbert, abbot, and departed for Murbach.

Since Abbot Heddo was a native Alsatian, it is evident that the monastery of Reichenau was not an exclusively Irish community, any more than Luxeuil, Bobbio, or St. Gall. The Irish, however, showed a great attachment to Reichenau. Like the monasteries of St. Gall and Bobbio, it was one of their favorite stopping places on the way to Rome.[30] The monks of Reichenau celebrated the birthday of St. Patrick from the very foundation of their community.[31] In the year 860, Ermenrich of Reichenau wrote to Grimoald of St. Gall: "How can we ever forget Ireland, the island where the sun of faith arose for us and whence the brilliant rays of so great a light have reached us?"[32]

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[27] DeSmedt, *Com. Praevius in Vitam S. Pirminii,* p. 11 sq.

[28] *Vita S. Pirminii,* p. 36.

[29] *Gallia Christiana,* t. XV, p. 533 sq. Hogan, *St. Pirmin of Reichenau,* in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* 1894, pp. 403-417; Dunn, *Irish Monks on the Continent,* in the *Catholic University Bulletin,* 1904, pp. 324-328.

[30] Scheffel, *Der Trompeter von Seckingen: Ein Gesang vom Oberrhein,* gives a poetic description of the early Irish monks among the inhabitants of the upper Rhine.

[31] Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers,* p. 101.

[32] Quoted by Dunn, *op. cit.,* p. 327.

Sometimes it is said that political troubles caused Pirmin to leave Reichenau.[33] But since it was his mission to found or reform communities it is most probable that he did not remain longer in any one community than was required to carry out his special work; in fact, it is not at all improbable that Abbot Heddo's relative, Count Eberhard, who in 724 had shown his liberality towards Irish monks by donating his possessions on the island of Honau to the young community, now induced the reforming abbot-bishop to come to the aid of the *peregrini* monks at Murbach.[34]

But who were the *peregrini* monks mentioned so frequently in Alsatian documents of the eighth and ninth centuries? Certain authors who have treated this question feel satisfied with denying that the *peregrini* were Irish monks, without taking the trouble of stating who the *peregrini* really were. This is not the case, however, with Pertz, DeSmet, Woog, Pflugk-Harttung, Hogan and Schoepflin.[35] They are quite out-spoken in their belief that Murbach was an Irish community and that the *peregrini* mentioned in the charters of King Theodoric IV, Count Eberhard, and Bishop Widegern, were Irishmen.[36] Schoepflin, for example, writes: *Ex Scotis advenis locus ille dictus est Vivarius Peregrinorum*;[37] and where the charter of Count Eberhard speaks of Abbot Romanus *cum peregrinis monachis* at Murbach, Schoepflin adds the explanation in a footnote: *Intelliguntur hic monachi Scoti,*[38] and *Scotti* or *Scoti* as has repeatedly been pointed out meant at the time Irishmen.

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[33] Hermannus Contractus, *Chronicon ad annum 727, loc. cit.*

[34] Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B.,* t. II, p. 696.

[35] Pertz, *Introduction to the Annales Laureshamenses* (*MGH, SS,* t. I, p. 19), says: *Monachi peregrini Britanni vel Hiberni fuerunt.* DeSmedt, *Commentarius Praevius in Vitam S. Pirminii, op. cit.*, p. 7: *Peregrinos istos monachos Hibernos fuisse censeamus.* Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 410; Schoepflin, *Alsatia Illustrata,* t. I, p. 7, note (a); p. 9, note (k).

[36] Schoepflin, *Alsatiae Diplomata,* t. I, p. 7, No. VIII: *Theodorici IV Regis Francorum Praeceptum pro Murbacensi monasterio ad annum DCCXXVII;* p. 8, No. IX: *Eberhardi Comitis Alsatiae Superioris Charta de Fundatione Murbacensis Monasterii ad annum DCCXXVIII;* p. 10, No. X: *Widegerni Episcopi Argent. Confirmatio Novi Monasterii Murbacensis anno DCCXXVIII.*

[37] Schoepflin, *op. cit.,* p. 7, note (a).

[38] Schoepflin, *op. cit.,* p. 9, note (k).

A very strong argument for the Irish nationality of the *peregrini*, too, is drawn from the *Annals of Lorsch.*[39] In these *Annals*, written at Murbach, the Irish compiler kept an account of former teachers and superiors in Ireland or on the continent. There we meet with such inscriptions as:

704. mors Canani Episcopi;
705, dormitio Domani Abbatis;
706, mors Cellani Abbatis;
707, dormitio Tigermal;
708, Drocus mortuus;
717, mors Rathbodi;
729, Macflathei.[40]

It does not require an advanced student of etymology to recognized the Gaelic roots of these names. We recognize Abbot Cellanus, whose death is mentioned in the year 706, at once as the superior of St. Peter's Monastery at Peronne. In the year 727, the chronicler mentions the death of a certain Daniel of Lagny. Lagny, as we know, was founded by St. Fursey, and Irish monks arrived there in considerable numbers. Moreover, the monastery of Lagny was not far distant from Meaux, where Pirmin probably commenced his labors on the continent. From this notice in the *Annals of Lorsch*, it is evident that the monks of Lagny and Peronne remained in communication with those of Murbach.

According to Irish fashion, the abbey of Murbach is exempt from episcopal jurisdiction;[41] and Bishop Widegern of Strassburg allowed the monks of the *Vivarius Peregrinorum* to have their own bishop—*de re episcopum habent*—a common custom in Ireland.[42]

To the foregoing arguments we may add for further consideration the well-founded belief of Wasserschleben and others that the word *peregrinus* assumed a technical meaning during the seventh and eighth centuries, equivalent to *Scottus*,

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[39] *Annales Laureshamenses*, in the *MGH, SS*, t. I, p. 19.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

[41] *Praeceptum Theodorici IV Regis Francorum* (Schoepflin, *Alsatiae Diplomata*, t. I, p. 7).

[42] *Widegerni . . . Confirmatio Monasterii Murbacensis* (Schoepflin, *op. cit.*, p. 11).

so that a *peregrinus* was a *Scottus* and a *Scottus* an Irishman, and the *Vivarius Peregrinorum* was the home for Irish monks.[43]

Peregrini, or Irish monks, had lived in the neighborhood of Murbach for perhaps a generation without being able to accomplish much when St. Pirmin came to their aid. Now the community found a most generous friend and patron in Count Eberhard, who endowed the *Vivarius Peregrinorum* with his possessions in Munweiler, Kintzheim, Giltweiler, Huntlingen, Dosenheim, Hipsheim, Huttenheim, Selestad, Berchheim, Wicherbint, Osweiler, Gundelsheim, Gebersweiler, Hirzfeld, Blotzheim, Leimen, Dattenheim, Bollweiler, and Wattenheim. He granted complete and absolute possession of the buildings, meadows, farms, vineyards, lakes, streams, movable and immovable property, cattle, or anything whatsoever that might be found in the above-mentioned places.[44] Others followed his example of generosity. Hence it is small wonder that Murbach rapidly became one of the richest and most influential monasteries in Alsace. No other community is mentioned as often as Murbach in Grandidier's *History of Alsace* as the recipient of gifts.[45] And the early *Murbacher-Annalen* state that the membership of the *Vivarius Peregrinorum* grew until it reached one hundred, who served God faithfully and were beloved by all.[46]

In token of his benevolence towards the monks, King Theodoric IV confirmed the possessions of Murbach in a charter of 727, the year from which the community counted its foundation.[47] In this document he granted absolute independence of the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop. The charter ordained

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[43] Wasserschleben, *Irische Kanonensammlung,* p. XLVI. *cf. ib.,* p. XLI; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* Introduction, p. CXXIII, note 2: "*Peregrinus* became practically a technical term on the Continent to denote an Irish missionary." Pflugk-Harttung, *Diplomatisch-historische Forschungen: Über Klosterexemptionen im Frankenreich,* p. 25: *Im übrigen Abendlande trat ihr (i. e., Scotti) fremdartiges Wesen und ihr ruheloses Wandern in den Vordergrund, wodurch das Wort 'Fremdling' (peregrinus) technisch für sie wurde; eines ihrer Hauptklöster erhielt den Namen Vivario Peregrinorum.*

[44] *Eberhardi Comitis Charta Fundationis Murbacensis Monasterii* (Schoepflin, *op. cit.,* p. 8).

[45] Grandidier, *Hist. d'Alsace,* t. I, *Pièces justificatives,* nos. 27, 54, 65, 70.

[46] *Scottis . . . Deo fideliter servientibus ab amnibus diliguntur et eis dona maxima largiuntur.* *Murbacher-Annalen,* in the *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte,* vol. 4 (1882-1885), p. 167.

[47] Schoepflin, *Alsatia Diplomata,* t. I, p. 7.

that if the community should be in need of the service of a bishop the abbot or monks may ask the ordinary to perform such functions as ordaining priests and deacons, or blessing a church, and that the bishop must perform these offices without any remuneration whatsoever. If he refused to come, the community was allowed to call in another bishop. The charter further regulated that when the abbot died the community had the right to elect in his place anyone whom the better part of the monks preferred, according to the rule and according to their privileges.[48]

Bishop Widegern of Strassburg went a step further in his charter of 728.[49] First of all he confirmed all privileges mentioned in the document of King Theodorie IV. Then he granted all privileges possessed by the monasteries of Lérins, Agauum, and Luxeuil in regard to episcopal functions and exemptions. If the community possessed a monastic bishop amongst its members, it was decreed that he could perform all episcopal offices required in the monastery. The most remarkable feature, however, of Bishop Widegern's charter is the mention of a Benedictine Congregation of Monasteries.[50] The creation of this congregation was the work of St. Pirmin. It was his aim, first of all, to establish a confraternity of prayer whereby one community might help another in matters spiritual.[51] Furthermore, in virtue of this congregation, the monks of one community were allowed to elect a member from another community as abbot, if they found no one fit for the office in their midst. Moreover, when discipline became lax or discord arose, monks could leave their community for another house of the congregation; and on the other hand, the monks of a community in

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[48] *. . . quem ipsa congregatio et melior pars elegerit secundum quod regula et privilegia ipsorum continent, ipsi sibi dignum constituant pastorem. Ibid.*

[49] Schoepflin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[50] In this charter Bishop Widegern ordains that the monks of Murbach elect a member of their own community as abbot; if, however, they cannot find one in their own midst, *si ibi de se ipsis talem non invenerint,* they are allowed to choose one from any monastery belonging to St. Pirmin's Congregation, *de alia monasteria jam dicti Pirminii episcopi de illos congregationes peregrinorum, quem sub uno modo petitionis vel una sancta institutione beati Benedicti quoadundavit, ipsi sibi consentientes abbatem regularem expediant et constituant.*

[51] *Congregatio . . . quam sub uno modo petitionis coadundavit, Charta Confirmationis Widegerni Episcopi,* Schoepflin *op. cit.*, p. 7. *Cf.* Fink, *Zur ältesten Vita des hl. Pirmin,* p. 25.

which discipline was well kept had the right to advise and correct their confreres in a lax community.[52] Unfortunately, this last provision too often tended to cause ill will rather than good feeling among the monasteries of the congregation.

Apparently, then, St. Pirmin was the first to establish a closer union between Benedictine communities. His work in this line preceded by nearly a hundred years the more radical innovation of Benedict of Aniane.[53] In organizing this congregation, Pirmin in all probability applied the custom prevailing in Ireland where founders of communities established a certain dependence of one monastery on another with reciprocal privileges and obligations. However, since such a union of various monastic houses was foreign to St. Benedict's conception as to the relations that should exist among monasteries in which his Rule was followed, St. Pirmin, whose aim was not so much to strengthen Celtic as to establish Benedictine monachism, reduced this dependence to a minimum.

Although this attempt at unification of Benedictine monasteries appears premature and imperfect, it must be admitted that it was the forerunner of the work taken up by Benedict of Aniane, and of such congregations as Cluny and Citeaux, and that it embodied in embryonic form some of the elements of present-day Benedictine congregations. With St. Pirmin's congregation in mind, it may be possible for some one interested in the question to give a more plausible explanation than Seebass has presented of the author, the purpose, and date of composition of the *Statuta Murbacensia*.[54] Such an investigation would probably show that the *Statuta* were after all drawn up by Abbot Sinbert of Murbach (789-791) for the monasteries belonging to Pirmin's congregation, and that the work of Bene-

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[52] *Et si ibi sanctus ordo tepuerit, quod absit, vel aliqua discordia inter ipsos monachos surrexerit, et ipsi hoc non praevalent aut noluerint emendare: tunc qui ex ipsis recto ordine, secundum regulam voluerint vivere, ubicunque in alia monasteria, ubi peregrini monachi supradicti episcopi consistere videntur, et rectius regulariter invenerint, potestatem habeant expetire, et illi per eorum salubri consilio Deo largiente, ipso sancto ordine, vel ipsis monachis per regula distringere emendare corrigere atque pacificare. Op. cit.*, p. 12.

[53] *Cf.* Gasquet, *A Sketch of Monastic History,* in his *Monastic Life of the Middle Ages,* p. 211.

[54] Seebass, *Über die Statuta Murbacensia,* in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* XII (1891), pp. 322-332.

dict of Aniane was the culmination of a movement which had been gaining favor since the time of St. Pirmin.

If some of Pirmin's foundations rose rapidly to great influence and importance, it was possibly due to the mutual encouragement derived from the congregation. Unfortunately there is no record to show which monasteries belonged to the congregation, just as there is no authentic list of the abbeys founded by St. Pirmin. Only one other charter of foundation, that of the monastery of Arnulfsau, identical in language with the one of Murbach, but dated twenty years later, gives positive proof that such a congregation did exist.[55] It is probable, however, that all monasteries founded or reformed by St. Pirmin were loosely united by him into his *Congregatio Peregrinorum.* Thus, the monks of Murbach, or of Arnulfsau, were allowed to choose an abbot *de alio monasterio jam dicti Pirminii*—from any monastery founded by St. Pirmin.[56]

Murbach, like Honau, remained unmolested during the wars of Charles Martel. Other monasteries, older and richer, may have suffered by his policy of rewarding nobles and favorites out of the possessions of abbeys, but not so the *Vivarius Peregrinorum.* Monks flocked there from many provinces, and donations of all kinds were made in profuse generosity. The community enjoyed the favor of Pipin and of Charlemagne, who on various occasions granted immunities and confirmed the privileges and the possessions of the monastery.[57] Five abbots ruled the community during the course of the eighth century: Romanus (728-752), Baldebert (752-767), Haribert (767-775), Amicho (775-789), Sintbert (789-793). After the departure of Abbot Sintbert, who became bishop of Augsburg in 793, Charlemagne is mentioned as the *pastor* of Murbach for nearly a year. But the community soon received a new abbot in the person of Aigilmarus, *abbas vel episcopus,* who ruled only one year. He was succeeded by Gerohus (795-801), Fridericus

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[55] Schoepflin, *Alsatiae Diplomata,* t. I, p. 17: *Hiddonis Episcopi Argent. Charta Donationis pro Monasterio Arnulfi Augae, anno DCCXLVIII;* also printed in *Gallia Christiana,* t. V, p. 458; Migne, *PL, LXXXXVIII,* p. 1314.

[56] Schoepflin, *op. cit.,* p. 10; *ib.,* p. 17.

[57] *MGH, Urkunden der Karolinger,* t. I, p. 25, No. 17: *Pippin bestätigt dem Kloster Murbach die Immunität; ibid.,* p. 93, No. 64: *Karl der Grosse bestätigt dem Kloster Murbach die Immunität; ibid.,* p. 136, No. 95: *Karl der Grosse bestätigt dem Kloster Murbach die Immunität.*

(801-805), Kerhohus (805-811), and Gutramus (811-816). The rapidity with which the last six abbots followed each other indicates that not all was well in the community. It was perhaps during this period that the *Vivarius Peregrinorum* passed from the hands of Irish monks into those of natives. Nevertheless, Murbach continued to grow and become more influential as years went by. The great Alcuin considered this foundation of St. Pirmin such an exemplary community that he feared to visit it lest by his bad example he give scandal to the monks.[58]

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[58] *Epistola Alcuini ad Fratres in Ecclesia S. Liudgarii Episcopi, anno* 796 (Migne, *PL,* t. C, col. 217).

CHAPTER IV

IRISH HOSPICES ON THE CONTINENT

In our search for communities of Irish monks on the continent we have thus far accounted for three such institutions: St. Peter's at Peronne on the Meuse in Picardy, St. Michael's on the island of Honau in the Rhine, and the *Vivarius Peregrinorum* in upper Alsace. Perhaps there were others of equal or greater importance whose existence has escaped the historian. In fact, the document of Charlemagne in which he ordered the restitution of stolen property to the *Scotti* gives reason to believe that there existed, prior to 772, many establishments similar to the one at Honau.[1] It is not quite sure, however, that the *ecclesiae* mentioned by Charlemagne were monasteries; for, they may have been churches, subject to Honau or Murbach; or again, they may have been *Hospitalia Scottorum,* of which we intend to treat in the present chapter.

The objection may be made that the *hospitalia* have no place in a discussion of *monasteria.* But in the course of the chapter it will become apparent why the *hospitalia Scottorum* must necessarily be included in a study of medieval Irish monasteries on the continent. We may state in advance that the English language has no exact equivalent for the Latin word *hospitale,* and that although in this chapter *hospitale* approaches the English words 'hotel' or 'hospice' more closely than it does 'hospital,' none of these words convey the complete meaning. For it must be remembered that the *hospitale* of the ninth century was more than a place of shelter for transients. In general it may be said that the *hospitale* was the home of all public charities, out of which gradually grew orphanages, hospitals, hotels, and homes for the homeless aged, as branches from a common trunk.[2]

The *hospitalia Scottorum* had their origin in two characteristic traits of the Irish people: the first of these is their love

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[1] *MGH, Urkunden der Karolinger,* t. I, p. 110, No. 77.

[2] Ratzinger, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege,* p. 139, note 5.

of travel;[3] the second, their hospitality.[4] Love of travel found its ascetic expression in pilgrimages, while hospitality was practised in the *hospitalia.*

At home the Irish were known for their hospitality and the best way to earn their gratitude was to visit their houses uninvited.[5] Both civil law and ecclesiastical custom provided a well-ordered outlet for these national traits. According to civil law the hospitaller, or supervisor of civil establishments for travelers, was selected exclusively from the nobility. He was a generous entertainer; his house was well-equipped; and his door ever open to all. He was supposed to possess seven herds, each herd consisting of one hundred and twenty oxen. He should own seven farms; and his house must be accessible from three roads. According to Keating, there were ninety establishments of hospitality assigned to the hospitaller of Connaught; the same number in Ulster; and ninety-three in Leinster.[6] There were regulations for the entertainment of guests, and if the hospitaller failed to observe the rules according to the dignity of the visitors, he was punished in proportion to the amount of injury inflicted on his guests. The spit before the fire was always provided with a sheep, or ox, or pig, ready to be served to any wayfarer. Various kinds of drink were served in different vessels: wine in glass, water in copper, whey in silver, mead in wood, and milk in the wood of the fig tree.[7]

This national trait, hospitality, found a more spontaneous expression and an even more generous application in the monastic establishments. According to Plummer, the national characteristic for hospitality and the dread of being satirized for niggardliness made the Irish saints extremely touchy on their reputation in this respect. Cronan had to move his monastery because it was inaccessible for travelers; St. Attracta vowed not to settle except where seven roads met.[8]

The *hospitium,* or guest-house, was one of the most important

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[3] *Peregrinare ex natura.* Walafried Strabo, in the *MGH, SS, Rer. Merov.,* t. IV, p. 336; *Keltische Blut treibt in die Ferne,* Scheffel, *Der Trompeter von Seckingen,* p. 42.

[4] Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* Vol. I, Introduction, p. CXIII.

[5] Stanihurst, quoted by O'Kelley, *Elements of Ireland's Early History,* p. 79, note 1.

[6] Lynch-Kelly, *Cambrensis Eversus,* Vol. II, p. 243.

[7] Lynch-Kelly, *Cambrensis Eversus,* Vol. II, pp. 243–247.

[8] Plummer, *op. cit.,* p. CXIII.

without one. Hence, no sooner had St. Columbanus, the introducer of Irish customs on the continent, founded his great monastery at Luxeuil than he also opened a place for the reception of guests.[9] With the generous aid of Bishop Faro of Meaux, St. Fiacrius erected a hospice for the welcoming of his Irish countrymen at Breuil; and of St. Aemilian and companions we read that they were received at Lagny with great joy by the brethren of the *caritas* of St. Fursey.[10]

It is true, of course, that the guest-house was not a peculiarity of Celtic communities, for it was an integral part of every medieval monastery, whether Columban or Benedictine in origin. The principle that Christ Himself was received in the person of the stranger was strongly insisted on by all religious founders. It was summed up in the motto: *Hospes, Christus!*

St. Benedict was very explicit in his regulations concerning the reception and treatment of guests:

"Let all guests that come be received like Christ Himself, for He will say: 'I was a stranger and ye took me in.' And let fitting honor be shown to all, especially, however, to such as are of the household of the faith and to pilgrims. When, therefore, a guest is announced, let him be met by the superior or brethren with all marks of charity. Let them first pray together and thus associate with one another in peace; but the kiss of peace must not be offered until prayer has gone before, on account of the delusions of the devil. When the guests have been received, let them be led to prayer, and let the superior or anyone he may appoint, sit with them. Let the divine law be read before the guest for his edification; and afterwards let all kindness be shown him. Let the superior break his fast for the sake of the guest, unless it happen to be a principal fast-day, which may not be broken. The brethren, however, shall observe their accustomed fasting. Let the abbot pour water on the hands of the guests; let both the abbot and the whole community wash the feet of all guests. When they have been

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[9] Jonas, *Vita Columbani, ed.* Krusch, p. 190: . . . *aptum locum quo omnium hospitum adventus suscipiatur.*

[10] Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France,* p. 113. The word *caritas,* according to DuCange, *Glossarium,* may mean the same as *hospitale.*

washed let them say this verse: *Suscipiamus, Deus, misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui.* Let special care be taken and solicitude be shown in the reception of the poor and of pilgrims, because in them Christ is more especially received. For, the very fear we have of the rich procures them honor. Let the kitchen of the abbot and guests be apart by itself; so that guests, who are never lacking in a monastery may not disturb the brethren, coming at uncertain hours. Moreover, let a brother whose soul is possessed by fear of the Lord have the guest house assigned to his care. Let there be sufficient beds provided there; and let the house of God be wisely governed by wise men. Let a monk who is not so bidden on no account associate or converse with guests. But if he chance to meet or see them, after humbly asking their blessing, let him pass on, saying that he is not permitted to talk with a guest."[11]

From this lengthy quotation taken from the *Rule of St. Benedict* it is quite evident that the saint wanted all his monasteries to have guest-houses, where food, shelter, and entertainment were given to strangers and travelers of all ranks and classes.

The *cella hospitum* of St. Benedict, or the *domus hospitum* of the Irish foundations, was not a single cell where all guests were crowded together. In most cases it was a regular and complete habitation.[12] In the larger monastic establishments there were frequently several places for the reception of guests. The abbot had rooms to accommodate distinguished visitors and benefactors. The cellerar's department frequently had to entertain merchants and others who came upon business of the house. The Irish communities, especially those of the later Middle Ages, like those of St. James at Ratisbon and Our Blessed Lady at Vienna, were known for their relations with merchants and traders. A third apartment provided shelter near the gate of the monastery for the poor and needy, and a fourth for the monks of other religious houses who took their meals in the common refectory for the monks and joined in many of the community exercises.[13]

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[11] *Rule of St. Benedict,* ch. 53; *cf.* Delatte, *Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict,* p. 331.

[12] Delatte, *op. cit.,* p. 339.

[13] Gasquet, *English Monastic Life,* p. 31.

The guest-houses were often of great size and magnificence. In the larger monasteries it was not unusual to find the main building one hundred and fifty feet long and fifty feet wide.[14] Many hospices had a reception hall in which the guest-master first received the pilgrim or traveler before conducting him to the church or arranging for a reception corresponding to his rank and position. A roaring fire on the hearth of the large hall kept the guests comfortable during the long winter nights. Along each side of the large hall were bedrooms arranged for the various guests. Beside the hall and the sleeping chambers, the guest-house had its own kitchen and a chapel in which the service was performed for the guests.

The *hospitium* naturally was placed where it would be least likely to interfere with the life of the monks. Thus St. Benedict requires that the kitchen for the abbot and guests be set apart so that visitors "who are never lacking" in a monastery would not disturb the brethren.[15] Every precaution was taken lest the constant coming and going of strangers should disturb the *summa quies* of the House of God or lead to the propagation of silly rumors about its members.

The guest-house was presided over by a senior monk, selected as being an especially God-fearing man, whose duty it was to keep the chambers ready for the reception of guests and to be ever prepared to welcome those who came to ask hospitality. He performed the part of host on behalf of the community. Two other monks were annually appointed to the work in the guests' kitchen, and these officials had assistance as occasion required.

In days when traveling was difficult and often dangerous, and when there were practically no other institutions on the continent for harboring wayfarers, such hospitality was sure to be largely used. There could hardly be any place which presented such a constant succession of picturesque scenes as the guest-house of a monastery. Here a host of people of every degree and condition met—bishops, kings, nobles, teachers, traders with their ware, pilgrims and beggars and minstrels with their song.

Not the least interesting characters in such a group were the pilgrims. Their costumes consisted of a robe, probably of

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[14] Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 86.

[15] *Rule of St. Benedict*, ch. 53; *cf.* Delatte, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

grey color, and a round felt hat. Their special insignia were the staff and scrip. The staff, or Irish bachall, seems to have been regarded the most characteristic mark of Christian pilgrims and missionaries. The bachalls were not spiral-headed like the later crozier, but simple staves with crooks. Sometimes the staff was carried by a special minister.[16] The scrip was a small bag slung at the side by a cord over the shoulder to contain the pilgrim's food and his few necessaries, and in case of the Irish *peregrini*, manuscripts and usually the relics of some saint.[17]

Besides the ordinary insignia of staff and scrip, every pilgrimage had its special signs, which the pilgrim on his return wore conspicuously upon his hat or his scrip or hanging around his neck, in token that he had accomplished that particular pilgrimage. Thus when a pilgrim reached the Holy Land and had prayed at the holy places, he was entitled to wear a palm in token of his accomplishment of that great pilgrimage. Hence the name 'Palmer.' The chief signs of the Roman pilgrimage were a badge with the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, the cross-keys, and the vernicle.[18] The sign of Compostella was the scallop-shell.

We have already drawn attention to the Irish custom of pilgrims traveling in groups, very often, of thirteen. Group pilgrimages were almost inevitable, since the pilgrims traveled about the same time of the year, along the same roads, and stopped in the same monasteries or hospices. Besides its badge, "each group had also its gathering cry, which the pilgrims shouted out, as at the grey dawn of morn, they slowly crept through the town or hamlet where they had slept that night."[19] Just before reaching any town they drew themselves up into line and then walked through its streets in procession, singing and ringing their little hand bells.

A lively picture of a Scottic pilgrim of later times is given by Abbot Samson of St. Edmond's, in the *Cronica Johannis de Brakelonda*.[20] "You are aware," writes Abbot Samson, "that

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[16] Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. CLXXVI.

[17] Cutts, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

[18] The vernicle was a kerchief in imitation of the veil of St. Veronica.

[19] Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, Vol. III, p. 442.

[20] *Cronica Jocelini de Brakelond*, published by the Camden Society, p. 35; *cf.* Wattenbach-Reeves, *Irish Monasteries in Germany*, in *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, July, 1859, p. 233, note (g).

I labored much in the church of Wilpet and that in order to obtain it for your use, I undertook by your advice a journey to Rome at the time of the schism between Pope Alexander and Octavian. I passed through Italy at the period when all clerics bearing letters from Pope Alexander were arrested, some of them imprisoned, some hanged, and others, after having their noses and lips cut off, sent back to the Pope to his disgrace and confusion. But I pretended to be a Scot. And having adopted the Scottish dress and behaviour, I shook my staff, like the weapon called a gaveloc, at those who scoffed at me, crying aloud in a threatening voice after the manner of the Scots. To those who met me and inquired who I was I replied only:

Ride, ride, Rome turne Cantwerberie!

This I did to conceal who I was and what was my design,

Tutius ut peterem Scotti sub imagine Roman.

Having obtained the letters from the Pope, in accordance with my wish, I passed on my way from the city by a certain castle; and behold, the servants of the castle surrounded me, laying hold of me and saying: 'This solitary vagabond, who pretends to be a Scot, is either a spy, or the bearer of letters from the false Pope Alexander.' And whilst they were searching my clothes, my trousers, my hose, and even my old shoes which I carried on my shoulder after the manner of the Scots, I put my hand into the skin wallet where I carried the papers of my lord, the Pope, placed under a little cup that I had for drinking out of, and by the favor of God and St. Edmund, I took them out along with the cup; and raising my left arm aloft, I held them under the cup. And so I escaped out of their hands in the name of the Lord."

No place offered greater attractions to the pilgrims than Rome. The *Vitae* of Irish saints abound with accounts of pilgrimages to the tombs of the Apostles. Their sentiments seem to have been: *Si non videro Romam, certe cito moriar;* that is, "If I do not see Rome, I shall of a certainty soon die."[21]

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[21] *Vita Maedoc, c.* 38 (Plummer, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 156).

There was an almost uninterrupted stream of pilgrims to the tomb of St. Peter and St. Paul.[22] Some historians, including Lanigan, say that many a Roman journey spoken of in the *Vitae* of Irish saints never took place; and they base their opinion on the fact that the annals of Ireland do not record such visits.[23] In particular instances this is no doubt true. However, we cannot press the argument from silence too far. Matthew Kelly, the translator of *Cambrensis Eversus,* has well said: "Judging from the silence of our native annalists of Ulster, of Innisfallen, of Donegal, etc., this assertion would undoubtedly be correct. For, they seldom chronicle visits to Rome. It must be remembered however, that they are equally silent regarding the Irishmen who visited other parts of the continent, and who were nevertheless, certainly famous in foreign countries, though apparently unknown at home, as Dr. Lanigan, himself proves. Of the few dozen pilgrims mentioned . . . it would be difficult to prove on unexceptionable testimony that all went to Rome; but the wonder is, not that the number recorded is so great, but that it is so very small, when we consider that before the close of the eighth century, numerous establishments, *hospitalia Scottorum,* had been founded by the Irish both in France and Germany for the accommodation of Irish pilgrims."[24]

In justice to Lanigan and others, however, it must be said that pilgrims to Rome were not the only Irish on the continent who brought about the erection of Irish hospices. We meet soldiers, like Madelgar of Hainault; teachers, like John and Clement; indefatigable missionaries; and in some places veritable colonies of Irishmen.[25] Thus Cambrai, Rheims, Soissons, Laon, Liège and Milan are said to have had settlements of Irish colonists.

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[22] *Cum inextinguibile Hiberniensium desiderium ad sanctorum Petri et Pauli reliquias visitandas arderet.* Ricemark, *Vita S. David,* quoted by Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.,* p. 238, note (k); *cf.* Greith, *Geschichte der Alt-irischen Kirche und ihrer Verbindung mit Rom,* p. 155–156.

[23] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. II, p. 316.

[24] Lynch-Kelly, *Cambrensis Eversus,* Vol. II, p. 628, note (s).

[25] Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers,* pp. 47–54; Traube, *O Roma Nobilis,* pp. 348–353; Traube, *Poetae Latini,* t. III, pp. 231–237; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen,* Bd. II, p. 510; Morin, in the *Revue Bénédictine,* May, 1893, pp. 193–197.

The welcome extended to Irish pilgrims, monks, and missionaries varied at different times and in different places. Some rulers, like King Dagobert II, invited them to their realms; others, like Queen Brunehaut expelled them from theirs.[26] In general, however, it my be said that they received generous aid, especially from Charlemagne.[27] He welcomed them with such kindness that some courtiers, perhaps less favored, complained about the great numbers of Irish in the royal palace.[28] The friendship of nobles, born of admiration for Irish zeal and learning and sanctity, made possible the erection of Irish communities and hospices; and when the *peregrini* were defrauded of their possessions, the rulers took measures for the restoration. Thus Charlemagne interfered in the interest of Honau.[29] Time and again rulers granted privileges and immunities and exemptions.[30] In the year 946, Otto I, King of Germany, officially recognized by charter the right of the *Scotti* to the monastery of Waulsort[31] Emperor Otto III ordered that only Irish monks should be received in the monastery of St. Clement in Metz.[32] The liberality of German rulers towards the Irish monks during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries raised the *Schottenklöster* to the front ranks of monasteries in the late Middle Ages.

In spite of this benevolent reception by some rulers, the agitation against the *peregrini* monks during the eighth and ninth centuries forced the Irish from many of their establishments. The *Scotti* were deprived of their *hospitalia.* The usurpers not only expelled the men who had lived in these places from their youth, and reduced them to beggary, but refused to shelter travelers who were accustomed to receive an openhanded welcome in these hospices. Apparently the complaints of the evicted *peregrini,* supported perhaps by the Irish colonists of Rheims, Laon, Liège and Soissons, forced the bishops at the

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[26] Jonas, *Vita Columbani, ed.* Krusch, p. 193.

[27] *Amabat peregrinos.* Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni,* in the *MGH, SS,* t. II, p. 215.

[28] . . . *eorum multitudo non solum in palatio verum etiam regno non immerito videretur onerosa.*

[29] *MGH, Urkunden der Karolinger,* t. I, p. 110, No. 77.

[30] *Ibidem,* p. 15; p. 69; p. 110; p. 166; p. 187.

[31] *MGH, Diplomata,* t. I, p. 160.

[32] Calmet, *Histoire de la Lorraine,* p. 398. *cf.* Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers,* p. 84.

Council of Meaux (845) to request the help of King Charles the Bald in restoring the hospices to the Irish owners.[33]

It would be interesting and instructive to know just what were the *hospitalia Scottorum.* They may have been institutions distinct in origin from monasteries, and independent of the latter in operation. This apparently is the view of Hefele who claims that the Irish were the first to erect hospices for travelers on the continent.[34]

Or, did the Irish abbots of Peronne, Honan, Murbach erect hospices *longe a monasterio*—far from the monasteries, like St. Anselm of Nonatulanus; and later, when the monasteries gradually passed into the hands of natives, did the supervision and operation of the hospices still remain in the hands of the *Scotti?*

Or, is *hospitale Scottorum* synonymous with *monasterium Scottorum?* This would seem to be the opinion of Dom Mabillon, who instances Fosses in Belgium as such a hospice.[35] Fosses was a monastery proper, not a hospice only, in which both native and Irish monks chanted the divine praises and performed manual labor and taught school and performed all the offices that go to make up the regular monastic life.[36] If Dom Mabillon's conjecture is correct, it follows that the *hospitalia Scottorum* were not necessarily owned and operated by Irishmen, but that founders, like St. Gertrude of Nivelles, en-

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[33] Mansi, t. XIV, p. 827, *conc. Meldense, c.* 40: *Admonenda est regia magnitudo de hospitalibus, quae tempore praedecessorum suorum et ordinata et exculta fuerunt, et modo ad nihilum sunt redacta. Sed et hospitalia Scotorum, quae sancti homines gentis illius in hoc regno construxerunt, et rebus pro sanctitate sua acquisitis ampliaverunt, ab eodem hospitalitatis officio funditus sunt alienata. Et non solum supervenientes in eadem hospitalia non recipiuntur, verum etiam ipsi, qui ab infantia in eisdem locis sub religione Domini militaverunt, et exinde ejiciuntur, et ostiatim mendicare coguntur.*

[34] Hefele, *Das Christenthum und die Wohltätigkeit,* p. 190; Ratzinger, *Geschichte der Armenpflege,* p. 145.

[35] Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O.S.B.,* t. II, p. 743: *Observare juvat, multa saeculum septimum erecta fuisse xenodochia in gratiam Scottorum seu Hibernorum monachorum qui pro innata peregrinandi devotione Galliam frequentabant. Sic B. Gertrudis Virgo et Abbatissa Nivialensis, locum 'Fossas' dictum, Foillano et Ultano consessit, ubi monasterium (sic enim xenodochia illa cognominabant) construeretur. Sic Fiacrius in monasterio suo Brolio populares suos uti et S. Faro Meldorum episcopus Scottos seu Hibernos excipiebat.*

[36] *Commentarius Praevius in Vitam S. Foillani,* in the *AA. SS. Oct.,* t. XIII, p. 370 *ss.*

dowed certain monasteries with a fund for harboring Irish pilgrims and travelers.

When we inquire into the place and date of these institutions we are left without much accurate information. We have very few well-authenticated cases of *hospitalia Scottorum* in the sense that they were establishments independent of monasteries. However, there must have been such hospices; otherwise it is difficult to explain the complaint of the bishops at the Council of Meaux, who said that these institutions had given up their "office of hospitality" altogether.[37] They applied to Charles the Bald for redress and demanded the reorganization of the Scottic hospices and their restitution to the lawful owners and administrators. Some years later, probably in 858, the bishops of the provinces of Rheims, and Rouen addressed a letter to King Louis the German, in which they again urge the return of the Irish hospices to their former use.[38] Moreover, they request Louis to see to it that the administrators of the *hospitalia* submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the bishops, who in turn promised to show them the most kindly attention. We do not know what effect the decree of the Council of Meaux or the letter of the bishops of Rheims and Rouen had on the fortunes of the *hospitalia Scottorum.* It is possible but not probable that the benevolent intervention of the bishops brought about a temporary restitution of the hospices to the Irish.

One of the earliest hospices for Irish pilgrims was the one erected by the great Irishman, St. Fiacrius, near Meaux.[39] When he asked Bishop Faro for a place where he could lead a retired life, the bishop, whose generosity towards the Irish is well known, gave him out of his own patrimony a plot of land in the forest near Meaux. Here Fiacrius cleared a space and built an oratory in honor of the Blessed Virgin, with a hut near-by in which he lived. Although he had left Ireland to flee the distractions of the world, the world came to him; for the fame of his sanctity and the report of his miracles drew people to his hermitage from

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[37] Mansi, t. XIV, p. 827.

[38] Migne, *PL,* t. CXXVI, col. 17, Letter of the Bishops of Rheims and Rouen to King Louis: *Hospitalia peregrinorum, sicut sunt Scottorum, et quae tempore antecessorum vestrorum regum constructa et constituta fuerunt, ut ad hoc quod deputata sunt teneantur, et a rectoribus Deum timentibus ordinentur, custodiantur, ne dissipentur obtinete.*

[39] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. II, p. 446.

far and near. In order to accommodate his countrymen he built a hospice. After the death of the saint, his burial-place near the hut became one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage in northern France.[40] It was a favorite stopping-place for the *peregrini;* possibly it attracted St. Pirmin, the founder of the *Vivarius Peregrinorum*, to the *Castellum Melcis* (*Meaux*). By the year 770 the burial place of St. Fiacrius had become known and famous throughout the countryside, and it certainly was not an unlikely spot to meet the nobleman Sintlatz, benefactor of Pirmin, who traveled a great deal in search of holy places.[41]

Irish missionaries were actively engaged in Bavaria during the seventh and eighth centuries and it is not at all improbable that they established hospices in various places for the numerous missionaries as well as for pilgrims on their way to other lands. Dom Bauerreiss, who has made a close study of the early Irish missionaries in southern Bavaria, suggests that Hörbering may have been such a *hospitale Scottorum*.[42]

St. Odilia is said to have erected a guest-house for pilgrims in connection with her convent of Niedermünster. Her *Vita* also says that she had Irish and English nuns in her convent and that *peregrini* priests were chaplains and teachers in her community.[43]

From early times there was a *monasterium Scottorum* in

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[40] Gougaud, *Chrétientes Celtiques*, p. 147.

[41] *Vita S. Pirminii*, in the *AA. SS. Nov.*, t. II, p. 35: *Sintlatz loca sanctorum quaerebat.* Dr. Lanigan, *op. cit.*, p. 448, note 47, reproduces the following hymn from the office of St. Fiacrius:

> Lucernae novae specula
> Illustratur Hibernia;
> Coruscat Meldis insula
> Tantae lucis praesentia.
> Illa misit Fiacrium,
> Haec missum habet radium.

[42] Bauerreiss, *Irische Frühmissionäre in Südbayern, op. cit.*, p. 51: *Die Irenmissionäre müssen neben eifriger Predigttätigkeit auch die ihnen überhaupt eigenthümliche 'caritas' als Seelsorgsmittel benützt haben, freilich mehr mit irischer Grossherzigkeit als mit System.*

[43] *Vita S. Odiliae*, in *MGH, SS, Rer. Merov.*, t. VI, p. 46: *Erat etiam ei consuetudo peregrinas ad sanctam conversationem suscipere feminas, tam de Scotis quam de Brittania, necnon et viros religiosos ex diversis provinciis venientes cum gaudio suscepit et ex eis sibi presbyteros ordinari rogavit. Cf.* Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, t. I, p. 115, for a negative evaluation of the *Vita S. Odiliae*.

Constance, perhaps more properly a hospice.[44] We may trace its origin to the time of St. Fridolin's activity in these regions. There are also notices of an early Irish foundation by St. Fridolin in Strassburg. In fact, Strassburg seems to have had a special attraction for Irish monks and missionaries from the beginning of their labors in Alsace, especially since the return of King Dagobert II from exile in Ireland to the throne of Austrasia. Hence, it is not surprising to find another very early hospice for the Irish in the so-called *monasterium Scottorum* erected by the Irish Bishop Florentius in the year 679 in honor of St. Thomas.[45] St. Arbogast and St. Florentius, of whom the latter succeeded the former as bishops of Strassburg, were both from Ireland; and it is was whilst St. Florentius was holding this office that he built a hospice for his countrymen.[46] It seems to have served its original purpose for one hundred and fifty years. In 830 it had become secularized. The time of its secularization fits in very well with the period when the other *hospitalia Scottorum* probably lost their independence, for it was only a few years later, in 845, that the bishops appealed to the king for the restoration of the Irish institutions.

Very likely there was a Scottic hospice connected with a church built in honor of St. Paul in Mayence by Abbot Benedict of Honau.[47] Perhaps the seven Irish bishops who signed Abbot Benedict's testament in the year 810 also erected *hospitalia Scottorum* in connection with their churches in the neighborhood of Strassburg. Only a few years later, in accordance with the Rule of Bishop Chrodegang[48] and the wish of Alcuin,[49] the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle ordered that every ecclesiastical foundation, whether canonical or monastic, should provide accommodation for the poor, the sick, widows, and strangers.[50]

Again, if there were colonies of Irish settlers at Cambrai, Liège, Laon, Soissons, Rheims, and Milan about the year 845, it is probable that there were also *hospitalia Scottorum* in those places. In this connection we may say that these colonies were

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[44] *Gallia Christiana,* t. V, p. 930.

[45] Schoepflin, *Alsatia Illustrata,* t. I, p. 736.

[46] Heber, *Die Vorkarolingischen Glaubensboten am Rhein,* p. 178.

[47] Falk, *Die Schottenklöster in Elsass (Katholik,* 1868, p. 316); Heber, *op. cit.,* p. 192.

[48] Migne, *PL,* t. LXXXIX, p. 1076.

[49] Migne, *PL,* t. C, *Epistola Alcuini (56) ad Eanbald,* p. 221.

[50] Mansi, t. XIV, Synod of Aix, *ad annum* 816, *caput* 28.

not necessarily composed of scholars only, though the only evidence we possess of their existence comes from *Scotti* who moved in the learned circles of the day. Nor were the colonists necessarily all men. We find occasional reference to English and Irish ladies who went abroad to study or to enter a convent on the continent. Thus in the *Vita* of Odilia we read that she had Irish and English young ladies in her community at Hohenburg.[51] The convent of Faremoutiers was frequented by the daughters of the nobility of England and Ireland.[52] St. Boniface wrote to Cuthbert of Canterbury that there were very few cities in Lombardy and France in which there were not women from England who had left home under the plea of making a pilgrimage to Rome, but who were actually leading a disreputable life.[53] And Bollandus observes that intermarriages between French and Irish were frequent in the seventh and eight centuries.[54]

About the year 786 Charlemagne is said to have founded a community for the *Scotti* at Amarbaric near Verdun.[55] This establishment probably stood in the same relation to Irishmen as the monastery at Fosses in Belgium. According to Lanigan, Charlemagne placed Patto, an Irishman, over the community.[56] When Patto became bishop of Verdun he was succeeded as abbot of Amarbaric by Tanco, also an Irishman, who in turn became bishop of Verdun. After him are mentioned Cortylla or Nortylla, and three other abbots, under the last of whom, Harruch, the monastery of Amarbaric is said to have been destroyed by the Norman invaders.[57]

Another hospice for Irish pilgrims was erected in the district of Piacenza by Bishop Donatus of Fiesole.[58] St. Donatus was

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[51] Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B.*, t. II, p. 452.

[52] Bonet-Maury, *St. Columban et la fondation des monastères irlandais en Brie*, in the *Revue Historique*, LXXXIII (1903), p. 287.

[53] Jaffe, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, t .II, p. 208.

[54] *Commentarius Praevius in Vitam S. Erardi*, in the *AA. SS. Jan.*, t. I, p. 533 *sq*.

[55] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. III, pp. 219-224; *Commentarius Praevius in Vitam S. Suitberti*, in the *AA. SS. Aprilis*, t. III, p. 813.

[56] Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 794-795; *Vita S. Patto*, in the *AA. SS. Martii*, t. III, p. 840–841.

[57] *Ibidem; cf. AA. SS. Aprilis*, t. III, p. 813.

[58] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 280; Tononi, *Ospizio pei pellegrini irlandesi*, Strenna Piacentina, 1891; *cf. Revue Historique*, XLVIII, p .123; Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers*, p. 82.

an Irishman and had probably been consecrated bishop before he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome.[59] He was accompanied in his peregrinations by a certain Andrew, who later rebuilt the monastery of St. Martin at Mensola.[60] They arrived in Rome during the reign of Louis the Pious, remained there for some time and received the Pope's blessing before they resumed their homeward journey. Upon arriving at Fiesole in Tuscany, St. Donatus was received by the clergy and people with great honor; and since the episcopal see was vacant, the whole populace requested him to become their bishop. He accepted the office reluctantly. During his episcopacy he granted to the monastery of Bobbio a church lying in the district of Piacenza, and revenue sufficient to support a hospice for Irish pilgrims in connection with the church.[61]

Mont-St.-Victor in Rhetia is usually counted among the *hospitalia Scottorum.*[62] It is considered to have been related to St. Gall, as Piacenza was to Bobbio. No doubt the monasteries of St. Gall and Bobbio continued for many centuries to draw Irish monks into their ranks and to offer a welcome stopping place to pilgrims on their way to and from Rome. This is especially true of St. Gall. In the eleventh century the Irish Bishop Mark, on his return from a visit to the tomb of the Apostles, bequeathed his books to the library of St. Gall. His nephew, Marcellus, was at that time a member of the community. A necrology has preserved for us the names of several Irishmen who died at St. Gall.[63] At Bobbio, in the eighth and tenth centuries, we find a certain Cumian, who became one of the favorite patrons of the place; a Dungal, and other monks with Irish names.[64] Hence, it was nothing remarkable that Eusebius, another *peregrinus,* arrived at St. Gall and became a monk there.[65] This happened in the year 841. After a few years in the monastery he retired to Mont-St.-Victor. There he became a recluse and lived a most austere life until his death

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[59] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* t. II, p. 280.

[60] Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines,* p. 242.

[61] Gougaud, *op. cit.,* p. 82.

[62] *Casus S. Galli,* in the *MGH, SS,* t. II, p. 73, note.

[63] *op. cit.,* p. 78.

[64] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. III, p. 171; Stokes, *Six Months,* p. 174.

[65] *Casus S. Galli, MGH, SS,* t. II, p. 73; Neugart, *Historia Episcopatus Constantiensis,* t. I, pars I, p. 135; Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.,* p. 206–207.

in 884. King Charles the Fat had so great an admiration for him that at the hermit's request he made a grant of Mont-St.-Victor to the monastery of St. Gall. One year after the death of Eusebius, Charles consigned to the monastery of St. Gall the revenues of one of his villas in Rhetia for the support and maintenance of twelve *peregrini* at Mont-St.-Victor.[66] The accepted opinion is that the monastery of Mont-St.-Victor was in the hands of native monks, who had a hospice in connection with the monastery for the accommodation of twelve Irish pilgrims on their way to Rome. It is quite certain, however, that Mont-St.-Victor was a real *monasterium Scottorum,* in the sense that it was a community reserved for Irish monks. It was, indeed, subject to St. Gall, but the membership was made up of monks from Ireland.[67] How long they maintained themselves there, we are unable to determine. The next half century is nearly a complete blank as far as Irish monks on the continent are concerned.

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[66] Neugart, *Codex Diplomaticus Constantiensis,* t. I, p. 436, No. DXXXIII.

[67] The charter of Charles the Fat says nothing about an *hospitale pro duodecim peregrinantibus Romam* (quotation from the editor of the *Casus S. Galli, MGH, SS.,* t. II, p. 73), but simply that Emperor Charles gave the *ecclesia* of Mont-St. Victor, which was occupied by a community of Irish monks, to the monastery of St. Gall: *Nos . . . quemdam montem, quo reliquiae et ecclesia sancti Victoris constructa esse dinoscitur, atque religioso quorumdam Scotorum conventu incolitur, ad monasterium S. Galli jure proprietario contulimus.* Neugart, *Codex Dipl. Const.,* t. I, p. 436, No. DXXXIII. Dom Neugart adds the following note: *Peregrinos enim, quorum diploma meminit, Scotos fuisse . . . pro explorato habeo.* Here again the word *peregrinus* is synonymous with *Scottus. cf.* Neugart, *Hist. Epsic. Const.,* t. I, p. 135; Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers,* p. 82–83.

PART II

DIE SCHOTTENKLÖSTER

940–1500

CHAPTER V

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940—1500

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Irish Monasteries at St. Michael's in the Forest of Tiérache, Waulsort, Metz and Cologne

The dispossession of the Irish *hospitalia,* as pointed out in the preceding chapter, may have begun as early as the latter years of the reign of Charlemagne, but was certainly completed under Charles the Bald. However, the Irish monks, we may well suppose, did not leave the field of their fruitful labors without a protest, if indeed without attempts to recover their rightful ownership. At all events, the Council of Meaux, as shown in the foregoing pages, demanded in 845 the reorganization of the Scottic hospices and the restitution of these establishments to their lawful owners and administrators.[1]

In spite of this benevolent intervention, however, the Irish do not seem to have been able to recover their former far-flung influence. This may have been due to the chaotic state of society on the Continent at the time; or to the long years of struggle against the Danish invaders at home, which made the support of Irish communities abroad practically impossible; or it may have been due to a decline of that apostolic spirit which had animated a Columbanus, a Fursey and a Pirmin.

But a new era of Irish community activity was about to dawn. Although the shrine of St. Fursey had been pillaged by the Normans towards the end of the ninth century, the memory of the miracle-worker and visionary remained fresh in the minds of his countrymen, and as a result the tomb of the great saint continued to draw Irish pilgrims to Peronne even during the anarchical century which began before the death

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[1] *Concilium Meldense, c.* 40 (Mansi, t. XIV, pp. 827-828).

of Charles the Fat. These pilgrims continued to come long after this *monasterium Scottorum* had passed from the hands of Benedictine monks into control of Canons Regular. It is not surprising, therefore, that the saint's influence is felt in the rebirth of Irish activity on the continent. For, with the arrival of Cadroe, Macalan, and their companions at Peronne, and their subsequent establishment of Irish communities at St. Michael's in the forest of Tiérache, Waulsort, and Metz, it is possible to trace a more or less continuous history of Irish Benedictine monasteries on the continent until the end of the Middle Ages.

1. ST. MICHAEL'S MONASTERY IN THE FOREST OF TIÉRACHE

We may indeed date the revival of Irish communities on the continent as contemporaneous with the landing of Cadroe, Macalan, and their associates on the Boulogne coast about the year 945; though there is some doubt as to the Irish descent of St. Cadroe, certain writers maintaining stoutly that he was Irish-born, and others are equally insistent that he was a native of Britain.[2] All agree, however, that he studied at Armagh and received all his training in learning and religion in Ireland.[3]

No sooner had the group of *peregrini* landed on the shores of France when they at once hastened to the shrine of St. Fursey, where, after paying their devotion to the saint, they made inquiries for a quiet place in which to settle down. The report that certain zealous pilgrims from Ireland had arrived soon spread abroad and reached the ears of Count Eilbert and his consort, Hersendis, who, being childless, as the report goes, wished in their piety to make over some of their vast possessions to the good of the Church. They at once became interested in the plan of the *peregrini* and offered them a quiet residence on the river Oise, north of Laon, in the forest of Tiérache. The location seemed well suited to the requirements of a cenobitic retreat, and, to the great joy of Countess Hersendis, the Irish wanderers agreed to remain.[4]

The Irish under St. Cadroe were, of course, not the first

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[2] *Vita S. Cadroe,* in the *AA. SS. Martii,* t. I, p. 476; *MGH, SS.,* t. XV, p. 689 sq.; Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O.S.B.,* t. V, p. 489 sq.

[3] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. III, p. 401.

[4] *Gallia Christiana,* t. IX, p. 600.

peregrini who had sought refuge in the forest of Tiérache. Several centuries earlier, St. Algise with his companions, Corbican, Rodalgus and Caribert, is said to have parted from St. Fursey in England and preceding him to France, to have settled in a retired place in Picardy, near Cellula on the Oise, in the forest of Tiérache, in a place now called St. Algise.[5] Here, with the help of his companions, he is said to have erected a church in honor of St. Peter. Later on St. Algise carried the Gospel through Hainault. He was buried at Laon, whence his relics were translated, at the request of Abbot Forannan in 970, to the Irish community at St. Michael's on the Oise.

When St. Cadroe and his companions decided to accept the kind offer of Hersendis of the Oise estate, the Countess at once ordered the chapel of St. Michael, which had already stood there, to be enlarged and habitations prepared for the young community. Macalan, with the consent of the Countess, became the superior of the little group.[6] The *peregrini* soon realized, however, that it was impossible to live in a community without a definite rule of life. Consequently Cadroe and Macalan decided to visit Benedictine monasteries, where they could learn the Rule by living it. At the suggestion of Countess Hersendis, Macalan went to the monastery of Gorze, in the diocese of Metz, where he had the advantage of the training of Agenold, a famous abbot, Cadroe meanwhile going to the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire.

When after due time Macalan had received the Benedictine habit, Hersendis requested Agenold to permit him to return to St. Michael's. The request being granted Macalan returned to the young community where his countrymen now adopted the Rule of St. Benedict and elected him abbot. In a short time St. Michael's *en-Tiérache* was a flourishing monastery.[7]

2. WAULSORT

The wonderful growth of St. Michael's *en-Tiérache* encouraged Count Eilbert and Hersendis to establish another community. They decided on a place called Waulsort, situated on the Meuse

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[5] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 459; Stokes, *Three Months*, p. 217.

[6] *De Beato Maccalino Abbate in Belgica*, in the *AA. SS. Jan.*, t. II, p. 749.

[7] Lahaye, *Etude sur l'Abbaye de Waulsort*, p. 9.

between Dinant and Givet.[8] Abbot Macalan, who had displayed great ability in organizing the foundation at St. Michael's, was urged to lead a group of his monks to start the new settlement. He accepted the offer reluctantly, for during his residence in the first foundation of Countess Hersendis he had grown attached to the place. Nevertheless he finally agreed to go to Waulsort, but at the same time retained the management of the community of St. Michael.[9]

Among the monks whom St. Macalan took along to Waulsort was Cadroe, whom he made prior. After some time, however, when the community had settled down to regular life, he found that it was no easy matter for one man to rule both communities at the same time and urged Cadroe to accept the position of abbot at Waulsort so that he himself could give his time and energy to the welfare of St. Michael's Abbey.

After his return to the first foundation Macalan ruled the community until his death, which occurred probably in 978. He was buried in the church of St. Michael, and his name is mentioned with great praise by old writers.[10] During the following sixty years St. Michael's Monastery in the forest of Tiérache did not have its own abbot, but seems to have been ruled from Waulsort. When Amalricus became abbot (1043-1059) of St. Macalan's favorite foundation, the community had probably passed into the hands of native monks.[11]

Waulsort, the second foundation for Irish monks by Count Eilbert and his consort, Hersendis, enjoyed the good will and protection not only of the bishops of Liège and Mayence, but also of Otto I, King of Germany, and as a result grew rapidly. In 946 the King gave his unreserved approbation and confirmed all the possessions given to the young community by the generous Count and by other benefactors; he furthermore decreed that the monastery of Waulsort should remain forever in the possession of Irish monks; and that as long as any of them lived

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[8] *Gallia Christiana,* t. III, p. 569 *sq.*; *MGH, SS.,* t. XIV, p. 503 *sq.*; *cf.* Lahaye, *op. cit.,* p. 9, *Prés de leur residence, dans un vallon sauvage baigne par la Meuse et convert de forets epaisses, ils jetèrent les fondements de Waulsort.*

[9] *Vita S. Maccalani Abbatis,* in the *AA. SS. Jan.,* t. II, p. 750.

[10] *Gallia Christiana,* t. IX, p. 573.

[11] *Gallia Christiana,* t. IX, p. 601.

none but an Irish monk should be chosen abbot of the community.[12]

When Abbot Cadroe was called to Metz in 953 by Bishop Adelbero I to restore monastic life in the deserted abbey of St. Clement, the monks of Waulsort elected a certain Godefroid in his place. They soon regretted their choice, for the new abbot inaugurated a tyrannical reign, upset established customs, demanded unusual marks of deference, and in general made himself unpopular with his monks.[13] It is indeed remarkable that Godefroid, a religious from St. Remy, and probably not an Irishman, should have been made abbot only a few years after Otto I had decreed that only *Scotti* should be elected to this position at Waulsort. Perhaps the fact that he was not of Irish descent caused the trouble. However this be, the monks of Waulsort deposed him and elected Immon in his place.[14] Under Abbot Immon's reign the community regained some of the splendor it had attained during the short rules of Macalan and Cadroe. But it was only after the arrival of Forannan with a group of earnest *peregrini* that the community became prosperous.[15] St. Forannan who had been consecrated at Armagh bishop of a place called Domnach-mor, arrived at Waulsort about twenty years later than St. Macalan. After the death of Abbot Immon, about the year 967, Forannan was elected to succeed him in office. Under his leadership Waulsort made such great progress that he is often called the founder of the place.

Contrary to expectation, the Irish were not able to hold their own at Waulsort very long. We have seen that Otto I gave them the right to elect a countryman as abbot; but imme-

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[12] *Decrevimus ut illud monasterium perpetuo in usus peregrinorum et pauperum stabiliatur, firmetur atque corroboretur et semper in actione Scottorum permaneat et quamdiu aliquis illorum vixerit, nullus alius fiat abbas nisi unus ex ipsis, post decessum vero illorum alius deum amator sancte regule efficiatur abbas.* Charter of King Otto, Sept. 19, 946 *(MGH, Dipl.,* t. I, p. 160).

[13] Lahaye, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

[14] Nearly all writers on the subject place Abbot Immon after St. Forannan. Lahaye *(op. cit.,* p. 13), however, who made a special study of Waulsort, inverts the order and lets Immon rule until about 967, and Forannan up to 980. Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B.,* gives 982 as the year of Forannan's death.

[15] *Vita S. Foranni,* in the *AA. SS. Aprilis,* t. III, *die* XXX; *Mabillon, Acta sanct. O,S.B.,* sec. V, p. 586; *MGH, SS.,* t. XIV, p. 511 sq.

diately after the death of St. Forannan, they chose Theodoric, a priest from the neighboring Prizeries, who had been a member of the community only a short time.[16] It would almost seem that Ireland had not yet sufficiently recovered from her Danish invasions to support communities abroad. Waulsort, nevertheless, continued to be known as a *monasterum peregrinorum*.[17]

3. METZ

Abbot Cadroe, who had shown himself an able and active administrator at Waulsort, was not destined to remain at the head of the young community. When the great bishop of Metz, Adalbero I, decided to restore the ancient Abbey of St. Clement in his episcopal city he could find no better accomplished agent than St. Cadroe. And when the call came in 953 from Bishop Adalbero, the abbot of Waulsort went in person to take charge of the restoration.[18]

The origins of the first foundations of St. Clement in Metz are involved in a great obscurity. Sometime about the beginning of the seventh century a monastery was dedicated to St. Felix, which later became that of St. Clement. Very little is known about the early history of this foundation. Towards the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century it was in anything but a flourishing condition. With the arrival of St. Cadroe and his companions, however, life was restored to the community. Bishop Adalbero I was careful to restore the abbey to its former glory; he rebuilt the church, enlarged the cloister, and erected other monastic structures. So successfully did the Irish community carry out the work confided to it that when some years later Bishop Adalbero II (984-1005) decided to restore the old Abbey of St. Symphorian outside the walls of Metz, he entrusted the task to Irish monks.[19] St. Fingen,

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[16] *Gallia Christiana*, t. III, p. 572.

[17] Lahaye, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers*, p. 83.

[18] *Gallia Christiana*, t. XIII, p. 866. The authors of *Gallia Christiana* put the date of restoration at 946.

[19] The monastery of St. Symphorian had been destroyed a long time before, probably by the Normans. *Gallia Christiana*, t. XIII, p. 844: *Cum enim extra moenia civitatis sita esset, nil mirum si barbarorum furorem primum experta est. Hinc illa chartorum monumentorum penuria Hibernia, de quibuscumque ibi semper monachi habeantur.*

who succeeded St. Cadroe as abbot of St. Clement, undertook the work with a brave heart.[20] The old abbey was soon rebuilt and regular observance introduced. He obtained a charter from Emperor Otto III, in which the ruler confirmed all the possessions which the abbey had received from former kings, emperors or other persons; likewise, the possessions which Bishop Adelbero II had given or intended to give. The Emperor, moreover, decreed that Fingen and his successors should not receive any other than Irish monks into the community as long as they could be supplied; but in case Ireland should not be able to send sufficient recruits—*si defuerint ibi monachi de Hibernia,* native monks might be admitted.[21]

After St. Fingen's departure for the diocese of Verdun where he re-established community life in the Abbey of St. Vannes (Vitonus), the abbots of St. Clement were at the same time superiors of St. Symphorian. The first was Sirianus, a monk from the community of Gorze, where St. Macalan had received his training.[22] His successors as abbots of St. Clement were Hymo, Widelo, and Hagano, all from Ireland, according to a manuscript in the municipal library of Metz.[23] Abbot Hymo is remembered especially in the annals of the monastery for his uncompromising defense of the right of his community.[24] During the twenty years' reign of the learned Widelo (1037-1057) arts and letters were practiced in St. Clement's monastery with considerable success. Abbot Hagano, the last of the Irish abbots of Metz, enlarged the abbey considerably; he is best

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[20] Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B., ad annum* 1001; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. III, p. 406.

[21] Calmet, *Histoire de la Lorraine, Preuves,* p. 396, *Privilegium Ottonis: Nos vero eidem abbatiae S. Symphoriani omnia loca a regibus, vel imperatoribus vel aliis religiosis personis antea unquam tradita, vel qua jam ipse dilectus Adalbero episcopus illic moderno tempore adauxit et adhuc addere desiderat, aliorum Dei fidelium bona voluntas adjungere studuerit, regia denuo nostra munificentia donamus, atque confirmamus ea videlict ratione, ut abbas primus nomine Fingenus Hiberniensis natione, quem, ipse praelibatus episcopus nunc temporis ibi constituit, suique successores Hibernienses sic esse poterit; et si defuerint ibi monachi de Hibernia, de quibuscumque ibi semper maonchi habeantur.*

[22] *Gallia Christiana,* t. XIII, p. 846.

[23] Quoted by Hogan, *Irish Monasteries in Germany (Irish Eccl. Record,* Vol. XXI (1907) p. 509): *Les cinq premiers abbés de notre maison (St. Clément) depuis sa reparation furent Hyberniens, scavoir: Fingenius, Haymo, Widelo, Hagano.*

[24] *Gallia Christiana,* t. XIII, p. 868; *MGH, SS.,* t. IV, pp. 45-51.

remembered, however, for the many privileges he obtained for visitors to the tomb of St. Clement.[25]

4. COLOGNE

Sometimes the work of the Irish monks in the Lorraine diocese is considered part of the reform movement of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[26] This view may be correct; doubtless, the four great Irish abbots, Cadroe, Macalan, Forannan, and Fingen presided over communities of monks whose good example produced beneficent results beyond the four walls of the abbeys. Bishop Adalbero of Metz perhaps considered the help of the Irish monks an effective means to bring about a rebirth of religious thought and practice in the communities of his diocese.

Archbishop Eberger, of Cologne, on the other hand, who also invited Irish monks to his metropolitan city, found this policy necessary for a different reason. It is well known that the great abbeys of the early Middle Ages were purposely built far from cities and towns. Later on when certain places, such as Cologne on the Rhine, Ratisbon on the Danube, and Kief in distant Russia, began to develop into important markets and centers of trade, the prelates everywhere found it increasingly difficult to procure adequate pastoral attention for the growing merchant population.[27] In 960 Archbishop Bruno, of Cologne, tried to meet the situation by restoring Gross-St.-Martin, a very old church in the episcopal city, and placed canons in charge who were to preach and administer the sacraments. When the canons failed to do the work entrusted to them, his successor, Archbishop Eberger, introduced Irish Benedictine monks to take their place. It may be said, therefore, that these monks anticipated by nearly a century the work which later was carried on so successfully by the sons of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

We have very little reliable information regarding the early history of Gross-St.-Martin. Historians of the nineteenth cen-

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[25] *Gallia Christiana, loc. cit.*

[26] Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlicher Wirksamkeit,* Vol. I, p. 182; Vol. II, p. 124.

[27] Oppermann, *Kritische Studien zur ältesten Kölner Geschichte (Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst,* XIX (1900), p. 323): *Die Ottonenzeit hat allenthalben Marktvorstädte mit Marktkirchen entstehen sehen.*

tury base their accounts of this institution on a spurious document generally known as the *Chronicon Sancti Martini Coloniensis.*[28] According to this chronicle Irish monks inhabited St. Martin's Abbey at a very much earlier period, until they lost their pristine fervor and were expelled from the abbey as well as from other communities on the continent. Within recent years, however, Oppermann has shown rather conclusively that the *Chronicon Sancti Martini Coloniensis* is a forgery perpetrated by Dom Olivier Legipont, a member of Gross-St.-Martin during the first half of the eighteenth century.[29]

We derive more trustworthy information from Marianus Scottus, the chronicler, who was a monk in the community for several years. According to him, the Irish were given complete possession and assured perpetual control of Gross-St.-Martin by Archbishop Eberger of Cologne.[30] If we are to believe his account this took place in the year 974. But since Eberger did not become archbishop until 984, it is probable that the date mentioned by Marianus is not correct.[31]

A monk by the name of Mimborin was made first abbot of the Irish community, probably about the year 989.[32] Archbishop Eberger was very liberal in his donations. He is said to have endowed Gross-St.-Martin with the revenue of several churches under his jurisdiction. The community prospered rapidly so that during the rule of the second abbot, Kilian, another monastery in Cologne, that of St. Pantaleon, passed into

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[28] *Chronicon S. Martini Coloniensis, (MGH, SS.,* t. II, p. 214); *cf.* Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen,* Vol. II, p. 138. The Chronicon begins: *Scoti multo tempore illud incoluerunt donec a primo fervore tepescentes, ex hoc sicut etiam ex aliis quibusdam monasteriis expulsi sunt et alii Germani sunt substituti. Illud autem rexerunt: Wicterpus* (756) . . . *cf.* Heber, *Die Vorkarolingischen Glaubensboten am Rhein,* p. 234.

[29] Oppermann, *op. cit.,* p. 271 *sq.;* Berlière in the *Archives Belges,* April, 1901, p. 89; Levison, *Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche (Historische Zeitschrift,* Vol. CIX, p. 21).

[30] *Chronicon Mariani Scoti, ad annum* 975, (Migne, *PL,* t. CXLVII, p. 780).

[31] *Gallia Christiana,* t. III, p. 748; Oppermann, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift,* Vol. XX (1901), p. 163.

[32] Trithemius, *Monasterii Hirsaugiensis Chronicon (Opera Historica,* pars, I, p. 39): *Circa haec etiam tempora monasterium Sancti Martini in Colonia ordinis nostri fundatum est, cui praefuit primus abbas Mymborinus, natione Scotus, vir religione et sanctitate multum mirabilis.*

the hands of the Irish.[33] The abbot of Gross-St.-Martin ruled both communities. For some unknown reason opposition arose against the Irish during the reign of Abbot Elias. Their most determined opponent was Archbishop Piligrinus, who threatened to expel the *Scotti* from Cologne; but he died before he could execute his design.[34] Abbot Elias was succeeded by Blessed Foilanus as superior of Gross-St.-Martin.[35] The Irish lost control of St. Pantaleon's Monastery rather early, and Abbot Alcaldus, who died about the year 1101, was the last of his nation to rule the community of Gross-St.-Martin.[36]

Perhaps the best known character connected with the Irish community in Cologne was Marianus Scottus. Although he spent but two years in Gross-St.-Martin, it is owing chiefly to his *Chronicon* that we know what little we do about the Irish monastery. He arrived on the continent in the year 1056, remained in Gross-St.-Martin two years, went to Fulda, where he became a recluse.[37] Ten years later he moved to Mayence where he was immured once more. There were, indeed, other Irish recluses on the continent about the same time. Thus, St. Fintan spent twenty years in a cell adjoining the church and monastery of Rheinau;[38] Paternus, a recluse in the monastery of Paderborn, allowed himself to be burned to death rather than quit his cell;[39] Murchertoc, who lived in a cell connected with the convent of Obermünster in Ratisbon, persuaded his countrymen to settle on the Danube and thus to lay the foundation for the famous *Schottenkongregation;*[40] John, another recluse *pro*

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[33] *Chronica Regia, ad annum* 1015, 1019, *(MGH, SS.*, t. XVII, p. 741 *sq.*) Hilger, *Die Urbare von S. Pantaleon in Köln* (*Rheinische Urbare,* Bd., I, p. I-V); Binterim und Mooren, *Die Erzdiocese Köln,* Bd. I, p. 62-63. *Gallia Christiana,* t. III, p. 738.

[34] *Chronicon Mariani Scoti, ad annum* 1064, *op. cit.*, col. 784; *Mortuo autem Heriberto, Piligrinus ejus successor Scottos expellere voluit; cujus rei indignitate commotus, Helias dixit: Si Deus in nobis est, Piligrinus vivus Coloniam non veniat. Cf. Chronicon S. Martini (MGH, SS.*, t. II, p. 215).

[35] Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, p. 104.

[36] Bellesheim, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland,* Vol. I, p. 310.

[37] Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen,* Vol. II, p. 15.

[38] *Vita Findani, ed. Holder-Egger MGH, SS.,* t. XV, pp. 502-506; *cf.* Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica,* ed. II, p. 1003).

[39] Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, 237; Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. III, p. 445.

[40] Raderus, *Bavaria Sancta,* t. II, p. 220.

Dei amore, spent the last years of his life in a cell at Gottweich in Austria;[41] and in the thirteenth century there was a *reclusorium* for anchoresses in connection with the Irish community at Wurzburg.[42]

Wattenbach expresses surprise that a recluse could write a universal chronicle, such as Marianus Scottus compiled: *Gewiss könnte keine Lage weniger geeignet für einen Historiker sein.*[43] But if we bear in mind that during ten years as recluse at Fulda, Marianus had at his disposal one of the largest monastic libraries of the Middle Ages, his work does not seem so impossible. Moreover, the prevalent opinion that a recluse was buried alive within four, dark, narrow walls in wrong. In the words of Rev. Edward L. Cutts: "Usually, even where the cell (*reclusorium*) consisted of a single room, it was large enough for the comfortable abode of a single inmate, and it was not destitute of such furnishings as comfort required. But it was not unusual for the cell to be in fact a house of several apartments, with a garden attached; and it would seem that the technical 'cell' within which the recluse was immured, included house and garden, and everything within the boundary wall."[44]

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[41] *Vita Altmanni,* in the *AA. SS. Aug.,* t. II, p. 387.

[42] Wieland, *Das Schottenkloster zu St. Jakob in Würzburg (Archiv des hist. Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg,* Vol. XVI [1863], p. 147).

[43] Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen,* Vol. II, p. 115.

[44] Since this form of asceticism was so prevalent a feature of Irish monasticism it may not be out of place to quote at length a very excellent account of services for enclosing a recluse, from an old *Manuale ad usum percelebris Sarisburiensis.*

"The rubric before the services orders that no one shall be enclosed without the bishop's leave. On the day before the ceremony of inclusion, the *Includendus* (that is, he who was about to be immured) was to confess, and to fast that day on bread and water; and all that night he was to watch and pray, having his wax taper burning in the monastery, near the *inclusorium.* On the morrow, all being assembled in Church, the bishop or priest appointed by him, first addressed an exhortation to the people who had come to see the ceremony, and to the *Includendus* himself, and then began the services with a response, and several appropriate psalms and collects. After that, the priest put on the chasuble and began mass, a special prayer being introduced for the *Includendus.* After the reading of the Gospel, the *Includendus* stood before the altar and offered his taper, which was to remain burning on the altar during the mass; and then, standing before the altar-steps, he read his profession, or if he were

So much about the famous recluse and chronicler, Marianus Scotus. As for the Irish monasteries, we have seen that Metz

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a layman (and unable to read), one of the chorister boys read it for him. And this was the form of his profession:

> I, brother (or sister) N.N. offer and present myself to serve the Divine Goodness in the order of Anchorites, and I promise to remain, according to the rule of that order, in the service of God, from henceforth, by the grace of God, and the counsel of the Church.

Then he signed the document in which profession was written with the sign of the cross, and laid it upon the altar on bended knees. Then the bishop or the priest said a prayer and asperged with holy water the habit of the *Includendus;* and he put on the habit, and prostrated himself before the altar; and so remained, while the priest and the choir sang over him the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus,* and then proceeded with the mass. First the priest communicated, and then the *Includendus,* and then the rest of the congregation; and the mass was concluded.

Next the wax taper, which had all this time been burning on the altar, was given to the *Includendus* and a procession was formed: first the choir; then the *Includendus,* clad in his proper habit, and carrying his lighted taper; and then the bishop or priest, in his mass robes; and then the people following; and so they proceeded, singing slowly a solemn litany, to the cell.

At first the priest entered alone into the cell, and asperged it with holy water, saying appropriate sentences; then he consecrated and blessed the cell, with prayers offered before the altar of its chapel. The third of these short prayers may be transcribed:

> "Benedic, Domine, domum istam et locum istum, ut sit in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, victoria, sanctimonia, humilitas, lenitas, mansuetudo, plenitudo, legis et obendientiae Deo Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, et sit super locum istum et super omnes habitantes in eo tua larga benedictio, ut sit in his manufactis habitaculis cum solemnitate manentes ipsi tuum sit semper habitaculum. Per Dominum, etc."

Then the bishop or priest came out and led in the *Includendus,* still carrying his lighted taper, and solemnly blessed him. And then,—a mere change in the tense of the rubric has an effect which is quite pathetic,—it is no longer the *Includendus* (the person to be inclosed), but the *Inclusus* (the inclosed one), he or she upon whom the doors of the cell have closed forever in this life—then the enclosed is to maintain total and solemn silence throughout, while the doors are securely closed, the choir chanting appropriate psalms. Then the celebrant caused all the people to pray for the *Inclusus* privately, in solemn silence to God for whose love he has left the world. . . . After some concluding prayers, the procession left the *Inclusus* to his solitary life and returned, chanting, to the church finishing at the step of the choir."

This somewhat lengthy quotation is taken from Rev. E. L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages,* p. 148 *sq. Cf.* Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality,* Vol. I, p. 256; Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba,* p. 266; *Regula Solitarium* in Migne, *PL,* Vol. CIII, pp. 575–664.

and Cologne harbored Irish communities for more than a century. But a new community for Irish monks founded by another Marianus at Ratisbon on the Danube shortly before the death of Abbot Hagano of Metz and of Abbot Alcaldus of Cologne, soon drew all *peregrini* monks on the continent into its fold. As a result, it would seem, the monasteries of Metz and Cologne passed into the hands of native monks.[45]

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[45] When St. Bernard visited Metz, about the year 1133, he met with a community of nuns *dictae Scottae quarum vita vituperationis non erat expers.* With the consent of the bishop he introduced nuns of his own order. *Cf. Gallia Christiana,* t. XIII, p. 831.

CHAPTER VI

St. James's at Ratisbon and Its Foundations

Eleven years after the departure from Ireland of the chronicler Marianus Scotus, whom we met first at Gross-St.-Martin in Cologne, then as a recluse at Fulda, and who spent the last years of his life completing his *Chronicon* in a cell at Mayence, another Marianus Scotus took the pilgrim's staff to become an exile for the love of God on the continent.[1] This second Marianus, probably a native of Tyrconnell in Ulster, is described as having been very handsome in appearance and most attractive in manners.[2] He had been carefully instructed whilst still young in sacred and secular literature. As he grew older he prepared himself for the peregrination which was evidently the ambition of his life. In the year 1067 he left Ireland forever, accompanied according to his biographer, by two companions, John and Candidus; according to other writers by seven companions, namely, John, Candidus, Donatus, Dominus, Mordacus, Isaac and Magnald.[3] Their chief object on setting out was to

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[1] *Vita Beati Mariani Scoti, auctore Scoto Monacho Ratisponensi* (*AA. SS. Feb.*, t. II, pp. 365-372). This *Vita* was copied by John Gamasius, S. J., from a manuscript in the Carthusian monastery of Gaming, in Austria, and edited with valuable notes by Bollandus. It is styled a *Vita* of Marianus; in reality it is a brief history of the monastery of St. James in Ratisbon with its filiations.

[2] *Vita Beati Mariani Scoti, op. cit.*, p. 366. See also the paper by Bishop Reeves in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. VII, p. 292; Walderdorff, *St. Mercherdach und St. Marian und die Anfänge der Schottenklöster zu Regensburg*, in *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins zu Regensburg*, vol. 34, 1879. Hogan, *The Irish Monasteries of Ratisbon*, in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1894, pp. 1015-1029.

[3] The *Vita Beati Mariani* mentions only two. Aventinus, *Annales Baiorum*. lib VIII, says: *Divus Marianus Scotus, poeta et theologus insignis nullique sui saeculi secundus, cum comphilosophis suis Joanne et Candido, Clemente, Donato, Murcherdacho, Magnaldo atque Stacio, qui centum vixit annis, in Germaniam venit.* The names of these seven companions are also inscribed in the *Necrologium S. Jacobi*, each in turn being called *socius*, or *ex sociis Sancti Mariani*. *Cf.* Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 1016, note 3.

make a pilgrimage to Rome, interrupting their journey as was the custom at the hospitable monasteries on the way. In their travel through Germany they reached Bamberg, where they entered the monastery of St. Michael and became Benedictine monks. After a short stay, they continued their pilgrimage and reached Ratisbon.[4] Here they received a friendly welcome from Abbess Emma of the convent of Obermünster.

Near the convent was the *reclusorium* of an Irish hermit, Murcherat or Muircherdac, who had lived in a cell for nearly forty years. Marianus communicated his intention of visiting Rome to that holy man, who advised him to pray to God to direct him whether it were better to go to Rome or to remain in Ratisbon.[5] During the following night, as the legend has it, Marianus was told in a dream to begin his journey early in the morning but to stop where the rising sun would shine upon him, and there spend the remainder of his life. Early next morning he set out with his companions. They entered the small church of St. Peter outside the walls of Ratisbon to implore the blessing of heaven on their journey. On coming forth, Marianus beheld the sun rising above the eastern horizon. "Here, then," he said, "I shall rest and here shall my resurrection be."[6]

His resolution was hailed with joy by the people of Ratisbon. Although Marianus had been among them only a short time they already loved and admired him for his piety and learning. The merchant population, especially, was pleased at the prospect of having some one in their city to look after their spiritual needs. Abbess Emma gave the little church of St. Peter and the adjacent ground to the Irish pilgrims, and the citizens of Ratisbon built a small monastery for them. A certain man by the name of Bezelin, in particular, was very generous in his donations. At the request of the abbess of Obermünster, Emperor Henry IV in 1089 took the young community under his special protection.[7] This was the beginning of St. Peter's Priory, better known of as

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[4] Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. IV, p. 4; Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B.*, t. I, lib. XVI, sec. XV; *AA. SS. Jan.*, t. I, p. 533.

[5] *Vita Beati Mariani, op. cit.*, p. 368.

[6] *Ibidem.*

[7] Ried, *Codex Chronologico-Diplomaticus Episcopatus Ratisbonensis*, t. I, p. 166. *Cf.* Wattenbach-Reeves, *The Irish Monasteries*, p. 243, note g.

Weih-St.-Peter, the first of a group of Irish communities which soon developed into the famous *Schottenkongregation.*[8]

As soon as the news spread across the English Channel and over into Ireland that a new foundation for Irish monks had been made on the banks of the Danube, a number of Irish from Ulster went over to Ratisbon. They were received with open arms by Marianus.[9] The buildings at Weih-St.-Peter soon became too small; the monks accordingly purchased a piece of ground situated at the western gate of Ratisbon, for the sum of thirty pounds.[10] Here they laid the foundations of St. James's Monastery. Now did Irish monastic life on the continent witness its second spring.

The Blessed Marianus, who spent the declining years of his life in transcribing Holy Scripture and writing commentaries on the Old and New Testament, was called to his reward even before the work on the new monastery began.[11] His *Vita,* which is in reality a chronicle of the monastery, kept by the Irish monks of St. James, gives an interesting account of the progress of the new foundation.[12] Two Irishmen of noble birth, Isaac

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[8] Weih-St.-Peter, that is, the meadow in which the church, St. Peter's, was erected. The *Scotti* translated the word *Weih* by *Consecratum,* the tradition being that the church was erected on the site of a battle field where the bodies of the slain were buried, and that it was miraculously consecrated by St. Peter from heaven. *Vita B. Mariani, Commentarius Praevius AA. SS. Feb.,* II, p. 362). This explanation of the origin of the name Weih-St.-Peter caused Aventin, *Sämmtliche Werke,* Vol. I, p. 294-297, to express himself in his vehement manner regarding the literary abilities of the *Scoti. Cf.* Cornelius Will, *Über den Namen Weih Sankt Peter,* (*Hist. Verein von Oberpfalz und Regensburg.* Verhandlungen, Bd. 39 [*N. F.* 31], 1885, p. 225.

[9] *Vita Beati Mariani, op. cit.,* p. 368.

[10] *Ibidem.*

[11] *Ibidem.*

[12] *Vita Beati Mariani,* p. 365-370. *Cf.* Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.,* Vol. IV, p. 2 sq. Wattenbach, *Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland* (*Zeitschrift für christliche Archaeologie und Kunst,* Leipzig, 1856, pp. 21-49). This article was translated into English for Bishop Reeves, who edited it with valuable notes in *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology,* Vol. VII (1859), pp. 227-247, pp. 295-313. Bishops Reeves's version is closely followed by an anonymous writer in *The Edinburgh Review,* Vol. CXIX (1864), p. 174 sq. *Cf.* Hogan, *The Irish Monasteries at Ratisbon* (*The Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* 1894, pp. 1015-1029). Renz wrote a brief historical introduction to his edition of *Regesten des Schottenstifts St. Jakob zu Regensburg* (*Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner und Cistercienser Orden,* 1895-1897, vols. 16, 17, 18). Hans Meier used all previous works on St. James Monastery to good advantage in *Das ehemalige Schottenkloster St. Jakob in Regensburg und seine Grundherrschaft,* Regensburg, 1911.

and Gervase, were sent with several companions by Abbot Dominus to collect funds in Ireland for building the new monastery. They were well received by Conchobhar O'Brian, King of Munster, and returned to Ratisbon loaded with rich presents.[13] With the money thus collected in their native country the monks could erect a good part of the monastery. At the same time, however, that Abbot Dominus sent several of his monks to Ireland he sent also another, Macarius, in an entirely new direction, namely to Russia, likewise for the purpose of collecting money.[14] Accompanied by only a boy, Macarius pressed eastward until he reached Kief, at that time the residence of the rulers of Russia. Here the nobles made rich presents, so that he loaded several wagons with valuable furs, to the amount of a hundred silver marks, and in the company of Ratisbon merchants returned to St. James's. This was by no means the only journey of an Irish monk from Ratisbon to Kief. The visits to the far east became so frequent that the Irish monks finally established a permanent residence for a community in Kief.

During the absence of Macarius, Abbot Dominus had nearly completed the construction of the monastery in honor of St. James and St. Gertrude.[15] The citizens of Ratisbon, who no doubt remembered their ancient debt to the early Irish missionaries, were most generous in their donations.[16] They provided the monks with victuals and paid the masons so that the monastery was finished within a short time. But in consequence of the great haste, the structure was neither handsome nor durable. Therefore the resources obtained from Ireland and Russia were used in erecting better buildings and in putting a roof on the church. When the work was finished it must have presented a wonderful appearance; at least, the Irish chronicler is quite enthusiastic about his monastery. "Now be it known," he writes, "that neither before nor since was there a monastery equal to this in the beauty of its towers, columns, and vaultings,

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[13] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 244, note (q).

[14] *Vita Beati Mariani, op. cit.*, p. 369.

[15] The Irish monks long remembered the hospitality and protection offered by St. Gertrunde of Nivelles to St. Ultan, St. Foillan, and their Irish companions. *Cf.* Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers*, p. 134.

[16] Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, Bd. I, p. 239.

erected and completed in so short a time, because the plenteousness of riches and of money bestowed by the kings and princes of Ireland was almost unbounded."[17] The first church was blessed in the year 1111 by Bishop Hartwick I of Ratisbon; the high-altar, however, was not consecrated until eleven years later.

Abbot Christian, descendant of the great family of the MacCarthys, and fourth superior of St. James's, undertook a visit to Ireland to seek the aid of Donnchadh O'Brian, the brother of the Conchobhar who was now dead.[18] He was most successful in his mission, receiving gifts to the amount of two hundred marks which he carried back with him to Ratisbon. He used the money in buying estates in and around Ratisbon and thereby laid the foundations for the great material prosperity of St. Jame's during the succeeding generations.[19]

Besides these donations from Ireland, St. James's continued to receive rich presents in money and property from the citizens of Ratisbon and from people in various parts of Bavaria. We shall treat of the Irish monasteries founded in Germany during Abbot Christian's rule, whose restless activity is praised by the author of the *Vita Mariani*. Before undertaking a second journey to Ireland, where he died, Abbot Christian appointed one of his monks, Gregory, superior of the community. When news reached Ratisbon that Christian had died, Gregory was elected abbot in his place.

Abbot Gregory went to Rome to receive the abbatial blessing from the hands of Pope Adrian IV, returned to Ratisbon, and afterwards proceeded to Ireland, where he received the money which had been collected by Christian, with considerable additions. Upon his return to Ratisbon he ordered the removal of the first church which had been so hastily built and which had now nearly fallen to ruin with the exception of the towers. He rebuilt it from the foundation with hewn stone, roofed it with lead, and enlarged it with additional living quarters. The renovation was complete about the year 1184.[20]

To get a better picture of St. James's it is necessary to call

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[17] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 245, note (q).

[18] *Vita Beati Mariani, op. cit.*, p. 369.

[19] *Ibidem.*

[20] Renz, *Regesten, op. cit.*, 1895, vol. 16, p. 68.

attention to a few of its buildings.[21] The basilica of the Irish monks occupies no unimportant place in the history of architecture in the Middle Ages. The living quarters of the monks joined the large church to the east. Connected with these quarters, south and west, were the various workships such as kitchen, bakery, cellar, brewery, store-houses, and granaries; and the barns for horses needed to work the extensive farms stood farther to the rear. Behind this group of buildings was a large garden. The entire establishment was surrounded by a wall, according to the very letter of the Rule of St. Benedict, which prefers to see all things necessary for the independent existence of an abbey enclosed within the monastic walls.[22]

Besides the performance of their religious duties, the Irish monks, true to their traditions of the seventh and eighth centuries, devoted themselves intensively to the cultivation of learning. The founder of Weih-St.-Peter, Marianus, was a great scholar, and his example in this respect seems to have produced lasting results. The Ratisbon Chronicle tells of a distinguished Irish ecclesiastic, also called Marianus, who entered St. James Monastery. This Marianus was "a most learned man, who had for a long time taught the liberal and other arts at Paris, and had also been the teacher of Adrian, who later became pope. When Abbot Gregory was admitted to an audience at Rome, Pope Adrian inquired about his former teacher at Paris. 'Master Marianus is well,' replied Gregory, 'and is now living as a monk among us at Ratisbon.' 'God be praised,' exclaimed the Pope, 'I know not in the Catholic Church an abbot who has under him a man as excellent in wisdom, discretion, genius, eloquence, good morals, benevolence, judgment, and other divine gifts, as my Master Marianus.'"[23]

Attention may here be called to a poem, entitled *Gesta Caroli Magni,* which belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century.[24] Briefly stated, it is the narrative of the deeds of

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[21] Paricius, *Allerneueste Nachricht,* p. 244, gives a drawing of St. James's at Ratisbon. *Cf.* Wagner, *Studien über die Romantische Baukunst in Regensburg.*

[22] Meier, *Das ehemalige Schottenstift,* p. 78. *Cf. Rule of St. Benedict,* Ch. 66 (Delatte, *Commentary,* p. 446).

[23] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.,* p. 245, note (s).

[24] Dürrwächter, *Die Gesta Caroli Magni der Regensburger Schottenlegende.*

Charlemagne, showing him as a conqueror and converter of the heathen world, especially of the pagans of Ratisbon. The author of the poem was an Irish monk of St. James's. He emphasizes the extraordinary solicitude and care of the Emperor for the divinely chosen and providentially guided *Scotti.* According to the *Gesta,* Charlemagne built the small church and monastery of Weih-St.-Peter out of gratitude for his victory over the heathens, and later laid the foundations for St. James's Monastery. The whole poem, however, is nothing but a legend based on the local tradition concerning Charlemagne. Though full of contradiction, the *Gesta* played an important rôle in the historiographic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

With few exceptions, the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of Germany received the *peregrini* monks with great kindness and granted many favors to their communities. The motives for their generosity may not always have been unselfish; but the Irish communities gained greatly by the letters of protection, by the exemption from taxation, and by various other privileges granted by German rulers and Roman pontiffs.

The first letter of protection granted to Weih-St.-Peter during the reign of Henry IV aimed at gaining the good will of the community in favor of the Emperor. In virtue of this letter the monks with all their possessions at Weih-St.-Peter were placed under the Emperor's special protection. The monastery became directly subject to the imperial government; no one had any jurisdiction over Weih-St.-Peter—*praeter me et successores meos reges vel imperatores*—except the Emperor and his successors.[25] This was the first of a series of favors shown by the German emperors to the monasteries belonging to the *Schottenkongregation.* It assured the Irish monks of the good will of the highest civil power, and this in turn made the citizens regard the strangers with greater respect and benevolence. If the *peregrini* could show themselves deserving of this good will and respect, their success was assured.

Weih-St.-Peter, which originally belonged to Obermünster, remained dependent on this convent in certain respects. The letter of Henry IV says that this dependence was "more for protection than for destruction"; a curious condition, which

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[25] Paricius, *Allerneueste Nachricht,* p. 252: *Diploma Henrici IV Imp.*

probably meant that the abbess of Obermünster could make use of her title to the property to protect it, but could do nothing that was disadvantageous to the monastery. The Emperor's letter, moreover, decreed that anyone who disregarded his wish in regard to the Irish community or caused annoyance to its inmates was subject to a fine.

The policy of Henry IV towards monasteries was followed by his successor, Emperor Henry V. On the 26th day of March, 1111, he granted a letter of protection to St. James's similar to the one granted by his father to Weih-St.-Peter. In this letter he endowed St. James's with his possessions at Monespach, and decreed in conjunction with Bishop Harwick of Ratisbon that the monastery should be free from taxation and military service for all times. The document expressly states that *nulla persona magna vel parva,* may tax the Irish community or force the monks into military service. Nor could the members of the community be tried before a civil court. The document, however, says nothing concerning the legal status of the domestics of St. James's.[26]

Emperor Lothar II (1125-1137) and Emperor Frederick I (1152-1190) in turn confirmed the privileges of Henry V. In the year 1212, Emperor Frederick II once more confirmed the privileges previously granted to St. James's and to Weih-St.-Peter.[27] This document enumerates the possessions of St. James's and shows to what great extent the monastery had grown during the twelfth century. It mentions about seventy denominations of land, seven mills, ten vineyards, three fisheries, four chapels, eight manses, besides forests, pastures, and gardens—all belonging to St. James's. The Irish community had reached the height of its material prosperity.

The attitude of the popes was no less favorable to the great *Schottenkloster* than that of the emperors. In the year 1120 St. James's received a letter of protection from Pope Calixtus II, by which the community was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of local ecclesiastical authority and placed directly under the Holy See.[28] This exemption from episcopal jurisdiction was renewed by Pope Eugene III in 1148. Other popes, like

[26] Paricius, *op cit.,* pp. 255-257: *Diploma Henrici V, anno* 1111.

[27] Paricius, *op. cit.,* pp. 259-263.

[28] Paricius, *op. cit.,* p. 281.

Adrian IV, Alexander III, Lucius III, and Celestine IV, renewed the letter of protection of Calixtus II, and sent letters to the abbots of St. James's, commending and encouraging their work. From the time of Pope Adrian IV (1156), St. James's had to pay a small sum of money each year in recognition of the papal protection.[29]

The influx of monks during the second Irish invasion of the continent, though falling short of the numbers of the seventh and eighth centuries, apparently reached its height during the fifty years from 1125 to 1175. St. James's at Ratisbon served as a magnet which drew unto itself not only men directly from Ireland, but also the Irish scholars scattered throughout France and Germany. Marianus left his post as teacher at the University of Paris.[30] Gregory deserted the Canons Regular of St. Augustine to join the community at St. James's and later to be elected abbot.[31] More than this. From the great foundation of St. James's at Ratisbon other Irish foundations were made in various places of central Europe. Houses were established in 1134 at Würzburg, in 1036 (1136?) at Erfurt, in 1140 at Nuremberg, in 1142 at Constance, in 1158 at Vienna, in 1168 at Memmingen, in 1194 at Eichstätt and in 1231 at Kelheim. Other smaller foundations were also made, for example, at Kief toward the end of the twelfth century, so that when the abbot of St. James's attended the Council of the Lateran in 1213 and obtained from Pope Innocent III the unification of his monasteries into a separate congregation, usually known as the *Schottenkongregation*, he could count fifteen flourishing houses acknowledging him as their ruler and head.

The first offshoot of the great Irish monastery of St. James at Ratisbon was that planted in honor of St. James at Würzburg in the year 1134.[32] According to Abbot Trithemius, who ruled the monastery during the early years of the sixteenth century

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[29] Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[30] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 249, note (s).

[31] *Ibidem.*

[32] Trithemius, *Chronicon Monasterii S. Jacobi, Urbis Herbipolitanae* (*Opera Spiritualia*, Mainz, 1607). A more detailed study than that given by Abbot Trithemius is: Wieland, *Das Schottenkloster zu St. Jakob in Würzburg* (*Archiv des hist. Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg*, Vol. XVI [1863], 2 *Heft*, pp. 1-182. *Cf.*, *Vita Beati Mariani*, *op. cit.*, p. 370; Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 395; Hogan, *Irish Monasteries in Germany* (*The Irish Eccl. Record*, Oct., 1895, p. 865).

when the Irish monks had lost control of the place, this foundation was brought about as follows. Bishop Emmerich of Würzburg met an Irish monk named Christian at Mayence. This Christian probably was the abbot of St. James's in Ratisbon. He urged the bishop to found a monastery for Irish monks at Würzburg in remembrance of St. Kilian, the apostle of Franconia, and one of the first to teach Christianity in Würzburg. Bishop Emmerich gave his consent and issued a charter of foundation. Abbot Christian now sent one of his most experienced monks to open the new establishment. This was Macarius, who was known all over Ireland and who thus became the founder and first abbot of St. James's at Würzburg.[33] Macarius brought with him a few of the brethren from Ratisbon, and was subsequently joined by a colony from Ireland, and by some of the Irish scholars scattered over Germany. Of the latter the most famous was David, the historiographer.[34] Abbot Macarius acquired a great reputation for sanctity, and before his death the house was well established. He was buried in the chapel of St. James at Würzburg; his epitaph read: *Hic jacet primus abbas hujus loci per quem omnipotens Deus vinum in aquam convertit.*[35] In Ireland, where wine was scarce, it was a rather common miracle to turn water into wine; but in Germany the converse was the case, and it was certainly fully believed in the instance of Macarius, when the supposed miracle was the subject of an epitaph.

A second important foundation from Ratisbon was that at Erfurt. A nobleman of the locality, named Walter Glysberg, invited the Irish monks to come and settle in that town.[36] Very little is known about this monastery. Trinot, abbot of Erfurt,

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[33] *Vita Beati Mariani, op. cit.*, p. 370. Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 452, Vol. IV, p. 5) speaks of Gilda-na-Naomh (the servant of the saints) or Nehemian, Bishop of Glendaloch, a native of Leicester, who resigned his see and became abbot of the monks of Würzburg, where he died A. D. 1085. "If there is no mistake in this date, it must be admitted that there was an Irish establishment in the city before the foundation of St. James's at Ratisbon." Lanigan, *op. cit.*, p. 6, note 9.

[34] Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen,* Bd. II, p. 95, p. 195.

[35] Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaugiensis,* I, p. 425.

[36] Nothing is known concerning the beginnings of this community except what is contained in an insertion in later copies of the *Chronicle of Lambert of Hersfeld* (*MGH, SS,* t. III, p. 100), which declares that this monastery was founded by Walter of Glysberg, in the year 1036. This is probably a mistake for 1136.

attended a chapter of Irish abbots in Ratisbon in 1211 and, in the year 1225, Siegfried, archbishop of Mayence, confirmed by charter the subjection of the Irish monastery at Erfurt to the abbot of St. James's in Ratisbon.[37]

In 1464 the abbots of St. James's in Ratisbon and of Würzburg appointed a certain Matthew, who was a member of the Ratisbon community, abbot of Erfurt. At that time the abbey was in a deplorable condition and the sources of income reduced to practically nothing. In order to ameliorate conditions, Abbot John of Ratisbon granted the revenue derived from the Irish abbey at Constance to Abbot Matthew for three years. The money thus derived was to be used to repair the building. Unfortunately this did not improve conditions.[38] However, the establishment at Erfurt, notwithstanding its periods of decay and its appropriation by Scotchmen, weathered all storms and difficulties until it was closed in 1820. After the establishment of the university at Erfurt, it obtained additional support from its connection with that institution, the abbot of the monastery being appointed pro-rector of the university and four professorships being attached to the prebends of the choir.[39]

The establishment of an Irish community at Nuremburg was brought about in the following manner.[40] King Conrad III (1138-1152) having resolved to start for the Holy Land in the crusades that were then being carried on, determined before his departure to found a house of prayer and worship in which his own efforts might be seconded. To carry out this work he could find none more fit than his chaplain, the Irishman Carus, who had been prior of the community at Ratisbon. Carus consented, and together with several countrymen took possession of St. Aegidius' church which Conrad had set aside for them. The monastery of St. Aegidius took a prominent place from that time forward among the Irish foundations in Germany. But circumstances similar to those which brought about the decline of

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[37] Paricius, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[38] Renz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schottenabtei St. Jakob*, p. 78.

[39] Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 873.

[40] Colmanni, *De Ortu Monasterii S. Aegidii Norimbergensis per Scotos eorumque Reformatione et Fine* Oefelius, *Rerum Boicarum Scriptores*, Vol. I, pp. 340-345; *cf.*, *Vita Beati Mariani*, *op. cit.*, p. 371. Schedel, *Chronicon Monasterii S. Aegidii, Scotorum Norimbergensis*, (Oefelius, Vol. I, p. 348 sq.).

other Irish institutions also caused the loss of St. Aegidius' to the countrymen of Carus. German monks from the monastery of Reichesbach were introduced there in 1418.[41]

The Irish monastery at Constance in honor of St. James was founded in the year 1142. The *peregrini* monks were not unknown in, nor unacquainted with, the region. St. Fridolin, the traveler, and St. Gall, the companion of the great Columbanus, had both labored there, and according to tradition a large and influential Irish monastery had existed in Constance long before the arrival of monks from Ratisbon.[42] Perhaps the local tradition regarding the great work done by Gaelic monks in the earlier ages caused Bishop Henry of Constance to apply to the abbot of St. James's in Ratisbon for a colony of Irish monks in his episcopal city. Abbot Christian acceded to his wish. Macrobius was elected the first abbot of this community.[43]

The largest and by far the most important offshoot from Ratisbon was the Benedictine abbey *Unsere Liebe Frau zu den Schotten*—Our Blessed Lady of the Scots at Vienna.[44] During the sixth decade of the twelfth century Henry Jasomirgott, Duke of Austria, raised the ancient Vindobona—Vienna—from the obscurity in which it had so long lain and invited many foreign merchants to his new residence. Many of those who settled in the new borough of Vienna came from Ratisbon, and these, to feel comfortable, had to have their Irish monks.[45] Nor were the Irish monks strangers in the Duke's dominions. Coloman, one of their countrymen, was already highly esteemed and revered as the tutelar saint of Melk. Coloman left Ireland in company with some pilgrim companions on a journey to Jerusalem. In 1022 he arrived in Lower Austria at a small town called Stockerau, where he was seized as a spy and thrown into prison. All his protestations of innocence were disbelieved and after cruel torture he was hanged from a tree, in company

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[41] Colmanni, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

[42] *Gallia Christiana*, t. V, p. 930.

[43] Wieland, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Rieder, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Schottenklosters zu Konstanz* (*Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, N. F., Bd. II, p. 309).

[44] *Vita Beati Mariani*, *op. cit.*, p. 371. Hauswirth, *Urkunden der Benedictiner Abtei U.L.F. zu den Schotten in Wien*, 1158-1418, (*Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Vol. XVIII). Hauswirth, *Abriss einer Geschichte der Benediktiner Abtei U.L.F. zu den Schotten in Wien.* Aventinus, *Annales Boiorum*, p. 631.

[45] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

with two robbers. The miracles said to have been wrought by his body so impressed Henry, Duke of Austria, that he caused his body to be removed to Melk.[46] When Duke Henry asked Abbot Gregory of St. James's in Ratisbon for men who would take care of the spiritual wants of the growing population, the Abbot sent twenty-four of his monks to Vienna. St. Sanctinus was chosen first abbot of the new foundation.[47]

It required several years to build the abbey, which was begun perhaps in 1156. Before it could be finished Duke Henry was called to Italy by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, but before leaving he drew up a charter to protect his foundation. This was in 1158, the date usually given as the year of foundation for our Blessed Lady of Vienna. When the buildings were finished in 1161, the founder granted three further letters of protection. From these we learn that the monastery was built for Irish Benedictines.[48]

Thus was brought into existence the oldest monastery in Vienna. It was founded on the Duke's property on the outskirts of the city, about four hundred yards from the city wall. The church and monastery were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Gregory the Great. Duke Henry endowed it with property, incomes, and privileges in a most generous manner. He gave the ground on which the monastery was erected together with a great stretch of adjoining property, whether movable or immovable, improved or unimproved. Furthermore, he endowed the institutions with large revenues from property in eleven villages. He placed under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Our Blessed Lady the two parishes of Pulkan and Eckendorf together with all their belongings; in Vienna, the chapels of St. Stephen, St. Pancratius, St. Peter, *Maria am Gestade,* and St. Ruprecht; in Krems, the chapel of St. Stephen; in Külm, Holy Cross Chapel; and in Loup, the chapel in honor of St. Coloman. With ecclesiastical approbation, the Duke granted parochial rights and jurisdiction to the monastery over the people living near the abbey as well as over the members of his own court and over guests and pilgrims. He granted the full right of free election of abbots, barring all interference of

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[46] *MGH, SS,* t. IV, p. 675.

[47] Hauswirth, *Abriss,* p. 4.

[48] Pez, *Codex Diplomaticus* (*Thesaurus Anectorum Novissimus*), Vol. VI, p. 384, p. 436.

succeeding rulers; the right to receive new members into the community; the right to use and dispose of all income at the chapter's discretion—in short, the unfettered and independent direction of the abbey's activities for all times.[49] He granted the right of sanctuary, and made *Unsere Liebe Frau zu den Schotten* the burial place for himself, his family, and his descendants.

Duke Henry's example of generosity was followed by many, and the monastery soon acquired extensive possessions. From the very beginning the Irish community was the center of religious life in Vienna. The city grew up around it, and with it the earliest religious associations of a great part of the population are linked.[50]

The next Irish settlement from St. James's at Ratisbon was made in Memmingen, probably the year 1178.[51] It owes its beginning to Emperor Frederick I, who erected it in memory of his son who died during the black plague. The Emperor built a church in honor of St. Nicholas and invited Irish monks to take charge of it. The abbot of St. James's sent a colony of twelve, with Maurus, or Mordach, as their superior. The monastery received a charter of confirmation from Emperor Frederick I in 1181, which was renewed in 1192 by his son, Henry VI. In spite of various small privileges granted to the community of St. Nicholas, this Irish monastery never grew to any great importance. Before the year 1400 it apparently lost its independence and was incorporated with St. James's at Würzburg, whose abbot appointed German secular priests to administer the affairs of the church.[52]

In the year 1183 Walbrun von Rauschhoven, *praepositus* of the church in Eichstätt, applied to Abbot Gregory of St. James's for monks to found a monastery. He offered them a site on the outskirts of Eichstätt together with a church erected in honor of the Holy Cross. Irish monks were accordingly sent from Ratisbon with Gerard, prior of Weih-St.-Peter, at their head. They immediately built a small monastery adjoining the church,

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[49] Hauswirth, *Abriss,* p. 3. Hogan, *op. cit.,* p. 869.

[50] Hauswirth, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

[51] Aventin, *Annales Boiorum,* p. 631. *Cf.,* Hogan, *op. cit.,* p. 299: "The chronicles of this abbey were destroyed."

[52] Wieland, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

which remained the home of an Irish community until the fifteenth century.[53]

During the latter half of the twelfth century a colony of Irish monks was induced to settle at Kief, in distant Russia.[54] German merchants who carried on an extensive trade between Russia and the West were not satisfied until the Gaelic monks took possession of a church and monastery in Kief and ministered to their religious wants. This time the monks came from Vienna, not Ratisbon. The church was dedicated to Our Blessed Lady. The community continued in the exercise of its duties until 1241, when the Mongolian invasion drove the German merchants from Kief, and with them the Irish monks.

Perhaps the last foundation in time of origin was the small priory at Kelheim. Its erection was brought about as follows: Louis the Bavarian was murdered at Kelheim in 1231. His son and successor, Otto, built a votive church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist on the site of the crime and handed it over to Irish monks. The abbot of St. James's in Ratisbon was made superior of the new establishment to which he sent six monks. These men built a priory near the church and carried on the regular functions in both. During the fifteenth century the priory was changed into a chaplaincy, because the revenue derived from endowments was not sufficient to support a religious community. The abbot of St. James's still retained the right to appoint the chaplain of St. John's Church in Kelheim.[55]

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[53] Paricius, *op. cit.*, p. 286; *Vita Beati Mariani, op. cit.*, p. 372.

[54] Abraham, *Mnise irlandzey w Kijowie* (*Bulletin international de l'Académie des Sciences de Cracovie*, 1907, no. 7, p. 137). *Cf.*, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1902, p. 294, no. 85; Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI siècle*, p. 97.

[55] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

CHAPTER VII

FORMATION OF THE SCHOTTENKONGREGATION AND ITS DECLINE

The century from 1140 to 1240 formed the golden age of Irish monastic expansion in Germany. During that period of a hundred years Ireland continued to send bands of pilgrim monks in constant succession who were enthusiastic and religious, models of asceticism and men of learning. They came, moreover, from the best families, and their monasteries, especially St. James's in Ratisbon and Our Blessed Lady in Vienna, were among the richest and most renowned in central Europe; wherever they settled the Irish monks gained the good will of the people on account of their big-heartedness and exemplary lives.

St. James's at Ratisbon retained its authority over the various filiations. All communities founded from Ratisbon were ever dependent on the mother-house, some indeed were more, others less intimately articulated with it, but all were under its ultimate jurisdiction. This dependence was defined more closely by Pope Lucius III, who decreed in 1185 that the superiors of the various Irish communities were to visit St. James's every year for mutual counsel and support, and that they were there to receive definite instructions as to what changes in regular observance were to be introduced in their respective houses and the method of making such changes.[1]

The Lateran Council in 1215 placed the interdependence of the Irish, and indeed of all monasteries, on a still firmer basis. After enumerating the rights of the diocesan bishops, the twelfth canon directs that every three years, in each province or kingdom, a chapter of abbots and conventual priors was to be held in some conveniently situated monastery. It was to be the special business of the convocation to discuss and legislate for the improvement of the regular observance; and whatever was agreed upon, was to be observed by all. Moreover, in each chapter

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[1] Reid, *Codex Chronologico-Diplomaticus Episcopatus Ratisbonensis,* t. I, p. 267.

certain prudent and religious men were to be nominated to visit, in the name of the Pope, every Benedictine house of the province or congregation, to correct where correction was necessary. If in these visitations they should find any abbot worthy of deposition, they were to denounce him to the bishop of the diocese, who was to take steps necessary for his removal; and if the bishop would not act in accordance with their findings they were to refer the matter to the Holy See. The bishop was further directed to see that the monasteries in his diocese were in good order, being careful not to make his visitations a burden or expense, so that the rights of superiors would be maintained without injury to the subjects.[2]

These are in broad outline the decrees of the Lateran Council regarding the creation of, and the discipline within Benedictine congregations. Pope Innocent III, however, issued a special bull by which he erected all the Irish monasteries founded from St. James's in Ratisbon into a special congregation, known as the *Schottenkongregation*. The communities belonging to this congregation were governed in general by the same regulations as those prescribed in the twelfth canon of the Lateran Council. The abbot of St. James's, as president of the Irish monasteries, was entitled to preside at all meetings and to act as visitor-general.[3]

How many monasteries belonged to the *Schottenkongregation?* In the special bull Pope Innocent III speaks of twelve Irish monasteries. Abbot Macrobius, who ruled St. James's at the time, refers to his community as the mother of fourteen other churches.[4] In either case we have not accounted for more than ten communities, namely, Weih-St.-Peter and St. James of Ratisbon, St. James at Würzburg, St. James at Erfurt St. Aegidius at Nuremberg, St. James at Constance, Our Blessed Lady at Vienna, St. Nicholas at Memmingen, Holy Cross at Eichstätt, and Our Blessed Lady at Kief. The priory of St. John the Baptist at Kelheim was not founded until 1231,

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[2] Mansi, t. XXII; *cf.*, Gasquet, *A Sketch of Monastic History*, p. 229.

[3] Meier, *Das ehemalige Schottenkloster St. Jakob zu Regensburg*, p. 81.

[4] Renz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schottenabtei St. Jakob*, p. 577. Abbot Macrobius calls St. James the *mater et origo multarum ecclesiarum, numero quartuordecim*. The word *ecclesia* is here probably synonymous with *monasterium*.

sixteen years after the formation of the *Schottenkongregation.* Where were the two other monasteries, mentioned in the bull of Pope Innocent III?

Wattenbach suggested that a community at Oels in Silesia was such another *Schottenkloster.*[5] But the claims of Oels to this distinction were disproven by Levison, who showed that this was not a *monasterium Scottorum* but *Sclavorum.*[6] Hegebach, in the diocese of Constance, is sometimes mentioned as the location of another Irish monastery subject to St. James's in Ratisbon. However, we know little about this supposed Irish settlement, and what little we know is largely based on conjecture.[7] Hence, we must look elsewhere for the two *Schottenklöster.* It is sometimes thought that the church at Schotten in Hesse was an Irish monastery. The name, Schotten, indicates Irish origin. In reality, however, there never was an Irish community at Schotten. The place referred to was a church erected about the year 1015 by two fugitive princesses from Ireland. Besides this church at Schotten they are said to have built also another at Wetter. But neither of these was ever anything more than a place of worship for the people of the neighborhood.[8] It is possible that these two Irish princesses were the daughters of Brian Boru, who was defeated and killed at the battle of Clontarf in the year 1014.[9]

Where, then, are we to find the missing communities? If we cannot find them in central Europe, why not look for them at the source of all *Schottenklöster*—Ireland? To us this seems the proper solution. For it is evident from two remarkable briefs of Pope Innocent IV, both written in the year 1248, that the abbot of St. James's possessed several priories in Ireland.[10] In the first of these briefs, the pope granted the abbot permission to allow some discreet and suitable person to receive new members into the Benedictine Order in the priories of Ireland. Before that time it seems that candidates for the religious life were obliged to come to St. James's in Ratisbon to make their

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[5] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.,* p. 300.

[6] Levison, *Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche,* p. 12.

[7] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.,* p. 301.

[8] Decker, *Topographische und historische Nachrichten von der Stadt Schotten* (*Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde,* Vol. I [1837], p. 134); Gougaud, *Gaelic Pioneers,* p. 109.

[9] Scott, *Schotten in Hesse* (*The Ancestor,* No. X, July, 1904, pp. 70-73).

[10] Baluzii, *Miscellanea,* Vol. VII, p. 445; p. 935.

profession to the abbot in person if they wished to join the Irish communities on the continent. The second brief granted the abbot of St. James's the right to visit, correct, and reform the monasteries or priories subject to him in Ireland.[11] From these briefs it appears that there were several such priories or monasteries in Ireland, nurseries for the communities on the continent. With one exception, we lack historical information regarding the place, date, and other particulars of these institutions. This exception is St. Mary's of Ross, in Cork County.[12]

St. Mary's, also known as Ross-Carberry, was founded by Nehemias Scotus, a monk of St. James's in Würzburg, about the year 1218. After some years spent in the community at Würzburg, Nehemias was made bishop of Ross. He then built a priory in honor of St. Mary and placed it under the jurisdiction of St. James's in Würzburg, in which status it remained until the mother-house itself passed into the hands of German monks.

In a preceding paragraph we drew attention to the fact that the Lateran Council wished to establish congregations of Benedictine monasteries on a national basis.[13] Now, it happened that the national basis was also the territorial basis for all abbeys except the Irish monasteries in Germany. These presented a unique problem and needed special legislation. Hence by a special bull of Pope Innocent III, all communities founded from, or in any way dependent on, St. James's in Ratisbon, were incorporated into the *Schottenkongregation*.[14] In virtue of this brief, the priories in Ireland were in all probability included in the *Schottenkongregation*.

The system sketched out in the Council of the Lateran satisfied a need long felt as a result of practical experience. If worked with good will it was calculated to afford co-operation and the security resulting therefrom.[15] Unfortunately this legislation was not obeyed consistently. It is true that the Irish abbots met at St. James's, at first very regularly, but later at rather irregular intervals, and then without accomplishing any

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[11] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 304, note (i).

[12] Wieland, *Das Schottenkloster zu St. Jakob in Würzburg*, p. 88; p. 101. p. 161. *Cf.*, *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. CXIX (1864), p. 174.

[13] Butler, *Bendictine Monachism*, p. 248.

[14] Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[15] Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

definite purpose.[16] Decline of discipline and monastic vitality were the inevitable consequences in times of intellectual upheaval, of civil disturbance and of constantly increasing luxury among ecclesiastics as well as laymen.

Be this as it may, with the formation of the *Schottenkongregation,* the Irish monasteries in Germany reached their greatest prosperity and their widest sphere of influence. St. James's was the mother-house from which they apparently still received their new members and to which they were subject in many respects. Two of the communities, Weih-St.-Peter in Ratisbon and St. John the Baptist in Kelheim, never rose above the rank of priories. Their history as well as that of the remaining *Schottenklöster* is closely connected with the history of St. James's in Ratisbon. The days of the latter's glory were the days of their own greatness; the decline of St. James's heralded their own failure.

Various conjectures have been made regarding the number of monks in the Irish monasteries at the time of their greatest prosperity. Abbot Trithemius believed that St. James's at Würzburg at one time had twenty or thirty inhabitants; however, according to Michael Wieland, this was impossible since St. James's could not accommodate more than fifteen or sixteen occupants.[17]

The mother-house at Ratisbon no doubt remained the most populous community. During the twelfth century, it sent out about eighty monks to the various newly organized foundations and constantly supplied them with sufficient recruits to carry on various community labors. But the supply of monks from Ireland gradually dwindled, so that the abbot of St. James's found it increasingly difficult to fill the many vacancies. This becomes apparent from the signatures on the community's documents. For example, a document of 1260, which records the sale of a piece of property by St. James's to the Dominicans, bears the signatures of only six monks besides those of the domestics of St. James's.[18] The signatures of the servants make it evident, according to Meier, that there were only six monks in the community at the time. Another document, of

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[16] Renz, *op. cit.,* Vol. XVI, p. 259; p. 420; **Vol. XVII, p. 31, p. 230;** p. 420, p. 632; Vol. XVIII, p. 81, p. 263.

[17] Wieland, *op. cit.,* p. 14.

[18] Meier, *op. cit.,* p. 86.

1284, bears the signatures of fourteen monks.[19] During the fourteenth century the membership never reached any great proportions. The situation became even worse during the fifteenth century. Thus, in 1439 there were besides the abbot only three monks in the community. After the death of Abbot John in 1479, there were five. At the beginning of the sixteenth century St. James's had no monks at all.[20]

Inseparably bound up with the decline in membership in the various communities are the changing material fortunes of the monasteries. It may be said that during the seventy years following the foundation of the *Schottenkongregation,* the abbots of St. James's were poor administrators, and as a result lost much property. A determined attempt was made in 1287 to put a stop to this downward course. The monks of St. James's brought their complaint against Abbot Macrobius II to the attention of Pope Nicholas IV. As a result the Pope commissioned the administrator of the abbey of Holy Cross at Eichstätt to use all possible means to regain the property which had been taken from St. James's.[21] During the rule of the next abbot the entire administration of the abbey was placed in the hands of Bishop Henry of Ratisbon. The community remained for some time subject to the Bishop in spiritual and material matters.[22] The latter succeeded to some extent in restoring the good name of the monastery and in increasing its revenue.

In spite of this aid, complaint regarding lack of money continued to be made and became more frequent during the fourteenth century. Thus the vastness of that great estate which St. James's possessed at the beginning of the thirteenth century did not prevent the institution from falling into decay, and what is worse, into disrepute.

The final overthrow of the Irish monasteries in Germany was due to a combination of causes. Not the least among these, Wattenbach observes, was the subjugation of Ireland by the English.[23] The incessant troubles that overwhelmed Ireland after the Anglo-Normans landed on its shores made

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[19] Ried, *Codex Scot. Ratisb.*, Nr. 18.

[20] Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[21] *Id.*, p. 87.

[22] *Id.*, p. 88.

[23] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

themselves felt in the Irish religious establishments on the continent.

Few monks went out from Ireland during the fourteenth century. Those that did go were chiefly such as their superiors wanted to get rid of, or who were discontented with the strict rules and discipline that prevailed at home.[24] Hence, as early as the year 1211, the Irish abbots of Germany who had met at Ratisbon according to instructions from Pope Lucius in 1187, found it necessary to pass a resolution to the effect that thereafter no Irish monastery was to receive a vagrant monk unless he could show a letter of recommendation from his abbot. Unfortunately, it was no longer the zeal of a Columbanus, or a Pirmin, or a Marianus, that urged the recruits forward. The new generation sought rather a life of luxury and ease.[25]

The gradual decline of St. James's in Ratisbon was experienced even more pronouncedly by the other communities of the *Schottenkongregation.* In consequence of the decline the abbeys of Nuremberg and Vienna were withdrawn from the Irish congregation and repeopled by German monks in 1418. The abbey of St. James in Würzburg was left without any monks after the death of Abbot Philip in 1497. It was then occupied by German monks and in 1506 joined to the congregation of Bursfeld.[26] Trithemius, who wrote a brief history of this community, was the second German abbot.[27] In 1595, however, Pope Clement VIII gave this ancient Irish abbey to Scottish monks, who continued to occupy it until its suppression in 1803.[28]

The abbey of Holy Cross in Eichstätt seems to have ceased early in the fourteenth century.[29]

St. James's at Constance began to decline in the first half of the fifteenth century and was suppressed in 1533.[30]

About this time also Weih-St.-Peter, the first foundation of Marianus, was lost. It was burned to the ground on May 22,

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[24] Colmanni, *De Ortu Monasterii S. Aegidii Norimbergensis,* p. 343.

[25] Colmanni, *op. cit.,* p. 343: *Quatuor de Hibernia venientes . . . dicentes se propter abstinentiam non advenisse sed propter habundantiam et propter liberam voluntatem vivendi.*

[26] Wieland, *op. cit.,* p. 124.

[27] Trithemius, *Chronicon Monasterii S. Jacobi O. S. B. Suburbio Urbis Herbipolitanae* (*Opera Spiritualia,* Mainz, 1607).

[28] Wieland, *op. cit.,* p. 134.

[29] *Vita Beati Mariani, op. cit.,* p. 372, note (d).

[30] Rieder, *op. cit.,* p. 311.

1552, during the progress of the Smalkaldic war. An old Ratisbon chronicler, Leonard Wildman, thus relates the occurrence:

"On Wednesday, in the week of the Holy Cross, they began to destroy the church of Weih-St.-Peter. In the evening they set it on fire, and burned it to the ground. On the 28th of July, I went out for the first time, by the gate of Weih-St.-Peter, to see how the dear little monastery had been broken to pieces; and the scene which this ancient house of God presented made me full sore at heart. Verily, if our forefathers had not built so many chapels, there would not now have been stones enough for the bastions of Prebrünn and for the Ostengate."[31]

St. Aegidius' at Nuremberg reached its lowest level towards the beginning of the fifteenth century. There the monks converted the chapter-hall into a public chapel; the infirmary became the living quarters for seculars; the buildings were falling to ruin. Feasting and drinking were in order; wine was sold as in a tavern.[32] In the year 1411 or 1412, the bishop of Bamberg sent visitors who remonstrated with the abbot and urged him to appoint a capable administrator of the monastery, and to receive eight monks from another Benedictine community into his monastery until recruits from Ireland (or Scotland) should arrive. Three youths actually did arrive from Ireland, but they were without training and soon decamped. The members of St. Aegidius' continued still to carouse *Scottice,* says the old chronicle, that is, they drank so deep that they were unable to perform the divine services, and Mendicants had to supply their offices.[33]

A fresh attempt was made to reform the community, when the citizens of Nuremberg sent repeated complaints to Bishop Albert of Bamberg. The Bishop once more sent visitors who again decided that the abbot of St. Aegidius' must receive monks from another community into his house to enable him to carry on the prescribed order. However, it was not easy to induce monks from other institutions to undertake this work. The community of Reichenbach refused—*ob malam famam Scottorum*—"on account of the bad reputation of the Irish." Finally

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[31] Ried, *Historische Nachricht von dem im Jahre 1552 demolirten Schottenkloster Weih-St.-Peter zu Regensburg,* p. 37.

[32] Colmanni, *op. cit.,* p. 342: *Convivia etiam pro mulieribus ibi fiebant, ut proverbium fieret uxor amissa in monasterio Scotorum quaeri debet.*

[33] Colmanni, *op. cit.,* p. 342.

three monks from Fulda arrived. In the meantime, the abbot again wrote to Ireland for help and obtained four new members for his community. But these openly declared that they had by no means come to practice self-mortification, but to enjoy themselves and live merrily. The Fulda monks attempted for five years to bring about a reformation, but without success; hence they returned to their community.[34]

In the year 1416 new visitors made their appearance who decreed that the community of St. Aegidius at Nuremberg must accept a superior from a reformed monastery, and that henceforth the community must receive candidates of any nationality. The three Irish abbots of Ratisbon, Würzburg, and Nuremberg, objected to this ordinance and brought their grievances to the attention of Emperor Sigismund, who referred them to the Council of Constance. The latter thereupon ordered a chapter to be held by the abbots of the dioceses of Mayence and Bamberg, which was done on the 31st of March, 1417, in Constance. The chapter upheld the decision of the visitors. The three Irish abbots protested against the decision, but without avail. The abbot of Ratisbon set out for home, whilst those of Nuremberg and Würzburg at length submitted.

As a result of the decision that members of other communities must be received, some monks from the Monastery of Reichensbach were introduced at St. Aegidius' during the following year. They found matters in a very deplorable state; everything, even the mitre and abbot's staff had been pawned; in the library there were only two books—a New Testament and a commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict.[35] Thus, after nearly three hundred years of service the Irish monks left Nuremberg. Thereafter St. Aegidius' Monastery remained in the hands of German monks.

The end of the Irish rule at *Unsere Liebe Frau zu den Schotten* at Vienna was as dramatic as it was sad. Conditions similar to those in Nuremberg prevailed there, when Duke Albrecht V, of Austria, requested Pope Martin V to send a commission to investigate the material and spiritual status of the community, at the same time suggesting that the Irish monks be

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[34] Colmanni. *op. cit.*, p. 343: *Sic per quinquennium Fuldenses pro reformatione ibi manserunt in magnis periculis molestati a ceteris. Abbas cum suis convivia frequentabant, ceteri divina persolvebant.*

[35] Colmanni, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

replaced by natives.[36] The visitors appointed by the Pope arrived in Vienna in August, 1417, presented their credentials to the Irish Abbot Thomas, and then proceeded to investigate for themselves the conditions of the community.[37]

Six days later the visitors declared that in virtue of a bull issued by Pope Martin V, January 17th, 1418, the monastery of Our Blessed Lady henceforth ceased to belong exclusively to the Irish. Abbot Thomas answered in the name of his countrymen that it was evident from the bull that Duke Albrecht and the people of Vienna no longer cared for their presence, and asked the visitors for time to confer with his monks as to the answer which they were to give. A day's time was granted. On the return of the visitors, Abbot Thomas announced to them in the name of his community the remarkable resolution of the "last of the *Scotti*." He declared that it would be impossible for them to live in the same home with monks of another nationality; the reason being, that they would either kill the intruders or be killed by them.[38] Abbot Thomas thereupon resigned his office, and with it the ancient title of the *Scotti* to this monastery. He and his countrymen left Vienna; some went to St. James's Ratisbon; others returned to their native country. After a few years' residence at St. James's, Abbot Thomas became superior of the community at Würzburg, where he spent the remainder of his days. In later years sporadic attempts were made, especially by the Scottish monks of Ratisbon, to regain the possession of the monastery *Unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten* for the *Scotti*, but to no purpose. The *Schottenkloster* of Vienna remained the home of Austrian Benedictine monks.[39]

In the parent monastery at Ratisbon the Irish held their own nearly a century longer. But there too monastic observance passed from bad to worse; recruits from Ireland became fewer and fewer, until the membership dwindled to nothing and Abbot Walter Arnowt (1499-1515) presided over a deserted monas-

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[36] Hauswirth, *Abriss*, p. 26.

[37] Hormayr, *Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, Vol. II, p. 2, p. 152.

[38] *Non possumus nec volumus commorari monachis aliorum quam nostrarum nationum, et est ratio, ut sciartur factum nude, quia nos interficeremus eos, vel interficeremur ab eis.* Reply of Abbot Thomas. *Cf.*, Hauswirth, *op. cit.*, p. 27, note 5.

[39] Hauswirth, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

tery.[40] Then it was that St. James's fell an easy prey to the Scotchmen, or the *Scotti* from Scotland. Taking advantage of the ambiguous name *Scotti,* they asserted that St. James's and the other *Schottenklöster* had originally belonged to their nation, and that the Irish had unjustly thrust themselves in, and for that very reason had brought about the decline of these monasteries.[41] They therefore petitioned the Pope to return these monasteries to them. As a result, on the 31st of July, 1515, Pope Leo X did actually make over the monastery of St. James to the monks from Scotland, and appointed John Thompson superior. The latter introduced his countrymen from the monastery of Dunfermline.[42]

Thus ended the Irish Benedictine rule on the continent.

RESUMÉ.

Irish monasticism, as embodied in the *Regula Coenobialis* of St. Columbanus, struck deep root among the peoples of the Merovingian kingdom and for a century was a keen competitor of the Benedictine Rule. During the seventh and eighth centuries Irish monks established monasteries and hospices in various parts of France and Germany for their countrymen. It was probably on account of the bad example of some *episcopi vagantes* that the *Scotti,* or Irish, fell into disfavor and were dispossessed of their communities during the first half of the ninth century. Between the years 880 and 950 we hear very little about the *Scotti* on the continent. This period of iron and lead and darkness seems to have affected Irish culture and morals as strongly as it did that of the other peoples of Europe. After that, however, a new era of Irish activity began, and the re-

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[40] Meier, *op. cit.,* p. 87, p. 90.

[41] Wattenbach-Reeves, *op. cit.,* p. 310. Bishop Reeves remarks, *ibidem,* note 1, to the assertion of the Scotchmen that the Irish had "thrust themselves in": "The monstrosity of this assertion is hardly credible. But what can be too bad when Camerarius gravely asserts, and tries to prove, that his Scotland was occasionally called Ireland." *Cf.,* Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.,* p. 111: *Qui desiderat plura de B. Murcherdacho ejusque sociis videat vitam B. Mariani, nostras in eam notas ad 17. Aprilis; ubi clare ostendimus non solum hos fuisse Scotos ex Hibernia oriundos; sed et monasteria omnia per Galliam et Germaniam pro monachis fundata Scotis, quae et hinc Monasteria Scottorum appellantur, fuisse ab Hibernia creata et pro eis fundata et dotata.* Unfortunately Colgan did not live to write his *notas ad 17. Aprilis.*

[42] Faricius, *op. cit.,* p. 315.

sultant efforts were directed along more unified lines. Irish monks established communities at St. Michael in the forest of Tiérache, at Waulsort, Metz and Cologne. Bishops made use of their zeal and sanctity to counteract the laxity in their dioceses, as at Metz, or to undertake the care of the increasing traveler population at such merchandising centers as Cologne. But the independent rule of the Irish monks in these northern communities was comparatively short-lived, and they shifted their sphere of activity to Bavaria and Austria. Accordingly, from the beginning of the twelfth until the sixteenth century, St. James's at Ratisbon was the center of Irish influence on the continent. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, however, the stream of Irish monks had nearly run its course. After the invasion of Ireland by the English, the sons of St. Patrick seemed to lose interest in the Benedictine communities on the continent.[43] Membership languished, and the few recruits that still came from Ireland carried on community services in a half-hearted manner, until finally some of the Irish monasteries were suppressed and others were forced to surrender to German or Scottish monks. Later on, during the religious wars in England and Ireland in the latter half of the sixteenth century, many Irishmen again sought refuge on the continent and built communities of their own at Rome, Paris, Prague, Salamanca, Louvain and elsewhere; but in this last peregrination the *peregrini* are no longer Benedictine monks but members of the Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis and of the Society of Jesus.

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[43] Nolan, *The Irish Dames of Ypers,* Introductory Letter.

VITA.

Joseph P. Fuhrmann was born at Pilot Point, Texas, June 29, 1894. He attended St. Peter's Parochial School at Lindsay, Texas, and received his secondary education at Subiaco College, Subiaco, Arkansas. Then he entered St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin, where he studied philosophy. In 1918 he entered the Benedictine Order at New Subiaco Abbey, Subiaco, Arkansas, where he finished his theological studies under Dr. Augustine Stocker, O.S.B. He was ordained to the priesthood by the Right Reverend John B. Morris on May 28, 1922. The following year he entered the School of Philosophy of the University of Notre Dame where, upon presentation of a dissertation, he received the degree of Master of Arts in Education. In 1924 he entered the Department of History of the Catholic University of America where he studied medieval history under Dr. Peter Guilday, ecclesiastical history under Dr. Patrick Healy and constitutional history under Dr. Richard Purcell.

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